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JOURNAL OF THE MALAYAN BRANCH,
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.





JOURNAL

of the

Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

25076

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August, 1934.



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June, 1934.



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1934

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by

R. O. Winstedt, C.M.G., M.A., D.LITT. (Oxon.) and
R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G.

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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society.

Patron.

H. E. Sir Cecil Clementi, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements, High Commissioner for the Malay States, British Agent for Sarawak and North Borneo.

Council for 1934.

The Hon. Dr. R. O. Winstedt, C.M.G., D.LITT. *President.*

The Hon. Mr. A. Caldecott, C.M.G., C.B.E.

*Vice-Presidents
for the S.S.*

Mr. C. E. Wurtzburg, M.C., B.A.

Mr. W. M. Millington, B.A.

The Hon. Mr. M. B. Shelley, B.A.

Mr. W. Linehan, M.A.

The Hon. Engku Abdul Aziz, D.K.

The Hon. Mr. C. C. Brown, B.A.

Mr. E. J. H. Corner

Mr. J. I. Miller, M.A.

Dr. A. L. Hoops, B.A., M.D.

The Rev. Fr. R. Cardon

Mr. M. R. Henderson

*Vice-Presidents
for the F.M.S.*

Mr. F. N. Chasen

Councillors.

Hon. Treasurer.

Hon. Secretary.

(Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie to deputize for Mr. Chasen during his absence on leave in Europe).

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held at the Raffles Museum, Singapore, at 4.30 p.m. on Friday, 23rd February, 1934.

- A Vice-President, Mr. C. E. Wurtzburg, M.C., in the Chair.
1. The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.
 2. The Annual Report and Accounts as submitted by the Council were adopted.
 3. The Officers and Council for 1934 were elected.
 4. A unanimous vote of thanks was passed to H. H. The Sultan and the Government of Kelantan for their promise of an annual subscription of \$50.

M. W. F. TWEEDIE,
Dep. Hon. Secretary.

Annual Report

OF THE

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society for 1933.

Membership. The membership roll of the Society at the end of the year included 597 names compared with 653 at the end of 1932. The roll consisted of 16 Honorary Members, 3 Corresponding Members and 578 Ordinary Members. Twelve members were lost through resignation and death. The following 22 new members were elected during the year:—

Abdul Rahman bin Mat	Johnston, J.
Annamalai University Library	Lopez, A. G.
Azman bin Abdul Hamid	Macdonald, P. J. W.
Black, W. N.	Megat Khas.
Booth, I. C.	Milne, Mrs. B. Lumsden
Browne, F. G.	Muhammed Sayid bin Muhammed
Davey, W.	Nik Ahmad Kamit bin Haji Nik Mahmud
Hannay, H. C.	Pearson, C. D.
Hesketh, G. C.	Tempany, H. A.
Hoogkaas, C.	Whitton, C. H.
Huddie, R. J.	Williams, The Rev. Nigel,

The Society's rules regarding the conditions of membership were rigidly enforced and no name was retained on the roll if at the close of the year the subscription for the previous year remained unpaid. Sixty-six names were thus withdrawn but some will, no doubt, be reinstated in 1934.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on the 28th February and the Council as elected at this Meeting remained in office for the whole year.

Journals. Two Journals formed the volume for the year. This consisted of 294 pages, 28 plates and numerous text figures. The first part was entirely botanical in character, but the second part was one of the most varied the Society has ever published. It contained thirty-two articles by twenty-four authors most of whom were new contributors to the Journal.

In this mixed journal papers on Malay history and customs were predominant but other important papers were devoted to physical anthropology, zoology, botany and other subjects mainly ethnographical in character.

Finance. Many members have overlooked the fact that the annual subscription is now six dollars and not five as formerly. Will those who sent only five dollars last year please add the balance to their 1934 subscription.

In last year's Report the Council recorded with great appreciation the generous action of the State of Johore in making provision for an annual contribution of \$250 to the Society's funds. It now has to record the especially pleasing fact that another of the Unfederated States has voluntarily offered an annual contribution and in the attached Receipts and Payments Sheet the first annual donation of \$50 from the State of Kelantan will be found. This is particularly gratifying in view of the fact that all financial assistance from the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States has now stopped.

F. N. CHASEN,

Hon. Secretary.

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year ending 31st December, 1933.

RECEIPTS.

Cash.	
Balance at Mercantile Bank on 1st January, 1933	\$3,411.08
Petty cash in hand 1st January, 1933	13.90
	<hr/>
Subscriptions.	
For the year 1928, 1929 & 1930	15.00
" " 1931	30.00
" " 1932	150.00
" " " 1933	1,493.65
" " " 1934	138.00
" " " 1935 & 1936	12.00
For Life-membership	144.00
	<hr/>
Sales of Journals	1,982.65
	330.98
	<hr/>
Contributions.	
Johore Government	250.00
Kelantan Government	50.00
	<hr/>
Interest.	
On Investments	480.50
On Current Account	32.55
	<hr/>

PAYMENTS.

Printing.	
Journal Vol. 10 pt. 3	\$1,006.25
" 11 pt. 1	885.50
Blocks	95.66
Separates	269.25
Illustrations etc.	269.29
Annual Report, Circular, etc.	32.75
	<hr/>
Miscellaneous.	
Stationery	45.40
Postages and other expenses	156.25
Advertisement in Local Papers	8.65
Hire of Hall for lecture	15.00
Part Purchase of Addressing Machine	102.50
Refund of remittance	2.77
Salaries	558.00
Commissions on cheques, stamps, and cheque books	27.65
Balance at Mercantile Bank, Dec. 31st, 1933	2,770.09
Petty cash in hand Dec. 31st, 1933	17.65
	<hr/>

M. R. HENDERSON,
Hon. Treasurer.

\$6,260.66

List of Members for 1934.

* LIFE MEMBERS.

Patron.

1930. CLEMENTI, H. E. SIR CECIL, G.C.M.G.

Honorary Members.

Year of Election.

- 1903, 1923. ABBOTT, DR. W. L., Northeast Maryland, U.S.A.
1890, 1918. BLAGDEN, DR. C. O., School of Oriental Studies
Finsbury Circus, London, England.
1921. BRANDSTETTER, PROF. DR. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
1930. CLIFFORD, SIR HUGH, G.C.M.G., G.B.E., 53, Evelyn
Gardens, London, S.W.7.
1930. CROSBY, SIR JOSIAH, K.B.E., c/o H. B. M. Ministry,
Bangkok.
1903, 1917. GALLOWAY, SIR D. J., Johore Bahru. (Vice-President,
1906-7; President, 1908-13).
1895, 1920. HANITSCH, DR. R., 99, Woodstock Road, Oxford,
England. (Council, 1897-1919; Hon. Tr., 1898-
1906, 1910-11, 1914-19; Hon. Sec., 1912-13).
1922. JOHORE, H. H. THE SULTAN OF, D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E.
Johore.
1900, 1932. KLOSS, C. BODEN, c/o Royal Societies Club, St.
James St., London. (Council, 1904-8, 1923,
1927-8; Vice-President, 1920-1, 1927; Hon. Sec.,
1923-6; President, 1930).
1903, 1927. MAXWELL, SIR W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Sunning Wood,
Boars Hill, Oxford, England. (Council, 1905,
1915; Vice-President, 1911-12, 1916, 1918, 1920;
President, 1919, 1922-3, 1925-6).
1921. PERAK, H. H. THE SULTAN OF, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O.,
Istana Negara, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1890, 1912. RIDLEY, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road
Kew Gardens, Surrey, England. (Council, 1890-4,
1896-1911; Hon. Sec., 1890-3, 1896-1911).
1916. SARAWAK, H. H. THE RAJAH OF, G.C.M.G., Kuching
Sarawak.
1894, 1921. SHELLABEAR, REV. DR. W. G., 185, Girard Avenue
Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Council, 1896-1901,
1904; Vice-President, 1913; President, 1914-18).
1921. SNOOK-HURGRONJE, PROF. DR., Leiden, Holland.
1921. VAN RONKEL, DR. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 44,
Leiden, Holland.

Corresponding Members.

- 1925, 1933. CALLENFELS, DR. P. VAN STEIN, c/o Archaeological Survey of Netherlands India, Batavia, Java.
 1920. LAIDLAW, DR. F. F., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon, England.
 1920. MERRILL, DR. E. D., New York Botanical Garden, Bronx Park, New York City, U.S.A.
-

Ordinary Members.

- *1921. ABDUL AZIZ, D.K., ENGU, Johore Bahru, Johore. (Vice-President, 1933).
 1932. ABDUL HADI BIN HAJI HASSAN, 572A, Tranquerah, Malacca.
 1932. ABDUL HAMID BIN ENGU ABDUL MAJID, ENGU, c/o State Secretariat, Johore Bahru, Johore.
 1926. ABDUL MALEK BIN MOHAMED YUSUF, District Office, Parit Buntar, Perak.
 1933. ABDUL RAHMAN BIN MAT, District Office, Raub, Pahang.
 1926. ABDUL RAHMAN BIN YASSIN, 3, Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore.
 *1907. ADAMS, SIR A., K.B.E., Rockleigh, Swanage, Dorset, England. (Vice-President, 1919).
 *1909. ADAMS, HON. MR. T. S., Residency, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1919. ADELBORG, F., Consul General of Sweden, Malacca, Street, Singapore.
 1926. AHMAD BIN OSMAN, District Office, Temerloh, Pahang.
 1927. ALLEN, B. W., Police Depot, Singapore.
 1926. ANDERSON, CAPT. H. A., Commissioner of Police, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
 1933. ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Annamalainagar, Chidambaram, S. India.
 1926. ARIFF, DR. K. M., 47, Leith Street, Penang.
 1908. ARTHUR, J. S. W., Residency, Malacca.
 1926. ATKIN-BERRY, H. C., Swan & Maclaren, Singapore.
 *1908. AYRE, C. F. C., Ipoh, Perak.
 *1926. BAGNALL, HON. MR. J., The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
 *1919. BAILEY, A. E., Keecha, Park Road, Leamington Spa, England.
 *1926. BAILEY, JOHN, British Legation, Bangkok, Siam.
 1915. BAIN, NORMAN K., c/o Crown Agents.
 1926. BAIN, V. L., Forest Research Institute, Kepong, F.M.S.
 *1912. BAKER, THE HON. MR. A. C., c/o Crown Agents. (Council, 1928; Vice-President, 1931).

LIST OF MEMBERS.

1932. BAKER, JAMES, Agricultural Office, Butterworth, Province Wellesley.
- *1899. BANKS, J. F., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
1920. BARBOUR, DR. T., Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1932. BARRETT, E. C. G., District Officer, Jasin, Malacca.
1914. BAZELL, C., Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak. (Hon. Librarian, 1916-20; Hon. Treasurer, 1921-22).
1925. BEE, R. J., c/o National Provincial Bank, Cromwell Place, South Kensington, London, S.W.7, England.
1921. BELGRAVE, W. N. C., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
- *1910. BERKELEY, CAPT. H., I.S.O., Clink Gate, Droitwich, England.
1930. BERNEY, H. A., c/o The Chartered Bank, Ipoh.
1927. BEST, G. A., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
- *1912. BICKNELL, J. W., U. S. Rubber Plantations, Medan, Sumatra.
1884. BICKNELL, W. A., 2, Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, Devon, England.
1924. BIRD, R., Government Offices, Penang.
1931. BIRSE, A. L., c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1926. BIRTWISTLE, W., Fisheries Department, Singapore.
- *1908. BISHOP, MAJOR, C. F.
- *1923. BLACK, J. G., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1921. BLACK, DR. K., c/o Sports Club, St. James Sq., London.
1933. BLACK, W. N., c/o The Mercantile Bank, Singapore.
1884. BLAND, R. N., C.M.G., 25, Earl's Court Square, London, S.W.5, England. (Council, 1898-1900; Vice-President, 1907-9).
1921. BLASDELL, REV. R. A., Methodist Mission, Malacca.
1925. BLYTHE, W. L., Chinese Protectorate, Penang.
1933. BOOTH, I. C., Topographical Survey Department, Jerantut, Pahang.
- *1926. BOSWELL, A. B. S., Forest Department, Taiping.
1930. BOULTER, R., C.M.G., Fullerton Building, Singapore.
- *1919. BOURNE, F. G., Coroner's Office, Singapore.
1921. BOYD, R., Co-operative Societies Department, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
1928. BOYD, MR. JUSTICE T. STIRLING, Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1919. BOYD, W. R., District Officer, Teluk Anson, Perak.
1913. BRADDELL, R. ST. J., Braddell Brothers, Singapore.
1932. BRANT, R. V., District Office, Raub, Pahang.
1897. BROCKMAN, SIR E. L., K.C.M.G., c/o F. M. S. Agency, Cockspur Street, London, England.
1915. BROWN, THE HON. MR. C. C., The Residency, Trengganu. (Vice-President, 1925, 1932-3).

1910. BROWN, D. A. M., Glugor, Penang.
 1933. BROWNE, F. G., Forest Department, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1913. BRYAN, J. M., Borneo Co., Ltd., 28, Fenchurch Street, London, England.
 1887. BRYANT, A. T., The Moorings, Falmouth, Cornwall, England. (Council, 1907-10; Vice-President, 1912, 1914-16).
 1932. BRYSON, H. P., c/o The Secretariat, Seremban.
 1926. BUCKLE, MISS D. M., o.b.e., Raffles Girls School, Singapore.
 1932. BURNETT, W. I. T., 8, Rycroft Road, Somerville, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.
 *1926. BURTON, THE HON. MR. JUSTICE W., Supreme Court, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1921. BUTTERFIELD, H. M., c/o Westminster Bank, Windsor, England.
 *1913. CALDECOTT, HON. MR. A., C.M.G., C.B.E., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore. (Vice-President, 1931, 1932).
 1932. CALDER, J., Batu Pahat, Johore.
 1926. CARDON, REV. FR. R., Church of St. Francis Xavier, Malacca.
 1925. CAREY, H. R., Education Office, Kuala Lumpur.
 1924. CARR, C. E., c/o Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
 *1921. CAVENDISH, A., c/o Crown Agents.
 1921. CHASEN, F. N., Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Council, 1925, Hon. Secretary, 1927-3).
 *1924. CHEESEMAN, H. R., Education Department, Singapore.
 *1913. CHOO KIA PENG, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1927. CLARK, B. F., c/o Adamson, Gilfillan & Co., Pontianak, W. Borneo.
 *1926. CLARKE, G. C., "Tilton," 14, Gallop Road, Singapore.
 *1911. CLAYTON, T. W., c/o The Crown Agents, 4, Millbank, London, England.
 1929. COBDEN-RAMSAY, A. B., District Office, Alor Gajah, Malacca.
 1922. COE, CAPT. T. P., General Post Office, Kuala Lumpur.
 1926. COLEMAN, C. G., Inspector of Schools, Singapore.
 *1920. COLLENETTE, C. L., Ashburton Hotel, The Terrace, Richmond, Surrey, England.
 1926. COLLINS, G. E. P., c/o Vernon House, Park Place, St. James Street, London, S.W.1, England.
 1928. COLOMB, R. E., Forest Department, Telok Anson, Perak.
 1926. COMMANDANT, THE, Police Depot, Kuala Lumpur.
 1926. COOPE, A. E., The Linders, Queen's Road, Sketty, Swansea, England.
 1928. COOPER, B., Survey Department, Malacca.
 1926. COOPER, R. H., The Eastern Smelting Co., Ltd., P. O. Box 280, Penang.

1929. CORNER, E. J. H., Botanic Gardens, Singapore.
 1925. CORRY, W. C. S., District Office, Temerloh, Pahang.
 1921. COULSON, N., c/o Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur.
 1921. COWAP, J. C., Government Analyst's Office, Singapore.
 *1923. COWGILL, J. V., Chairman, Sanitary Board, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1921. CULLEN, W. G., Bartolome Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.
 1925. CULLIN, E. G., 21, Barrack Road, Penang.
 1927. CUMMING, C. E., Floral Villa, Ipoh, Perak.
 1923. CURTIS, R. J. F., c/o Crown Agents.
 *1910. DALY, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Irish Free State.
 1933. DAVEY, W., Anderson School, Ipoh, Perak.
 *1918. DAVID, P. A. F., c/o Sports Club.
 1928. DAVIDSON, W. W., Public Works Department, Ipoh.
 1927. DAVIES, E. R., 7, Pearl Bank, Singapore.
 *1927. DAWSON, C. W., Legal Adviser, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1923. DAY, E. V. G., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
 1926. DEL TUPO, M. V., c/o Labour Office, Kuala Lumpur.
 1922. DENNY, A., Sungai Pelek Estate, Sepang, Selangor.
 1930. DE VOS, A. E. E., P. O. Box 13, Taiping, Perak.
 1929. DICKINSON, MRS. W. J., Bandoeng, Java.
 *1921. DICKSON, REV. P. L., The Vicarage, Belton, nr. Loughborough, England.
 1926. DIRECTOR OF FORESTRY, THE, Kuala Lumpur.
 1930. DOHOO, K. G. A., District Office, Batu Pahat, Johore.
 *1926. DOLMAN, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
 1930. DONLEVY, J., c/o S. Way Dredging, S. Way, Selangor.
 *1923. DOSCAS, A. E. COLEMAN, Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1921. DRYBURGH, A. M., District Office, Ulu Selangor.
 1926. DUFF, DR. W. R., Taiping, Perak.
 *1915. DUSSEK, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak.
 1931. EARL, L. R. F., The Police Courts, Singapore.
 1922. EBBEN, THE HON. MR. W. S., Land Office, Singapore.
 1922. ECKHARDT, H. C., c/o Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1922. EDGAR, A. T., Suffolk Estate, Sitiawan, Perak.
 1927. EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, THE, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1885. EGERTON, SIR WALTER, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, England.
 1921. ELDER, DR. E. A., The British Dispensary, Singapore.
 1932. ENGLISH SCHOOL UNION, THE, Muar, Johore.
 1913. ERMEN, C. E. A., St. Christopher, Combe Down, Bath, Somerset, England.
 *1923. EU TONG SEN, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
 1924. EVANS, I. H. N., (Vice-President, 1926-7; 1928-30). Ring o'Bells, Broad View, Park Estate, Oulton Broad, England.

1925. FAIRBURN, HON. MR. H., Singapore.
 1927. FARRELLY, G. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
 1909. FARRER, R. J., C.M.G., Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
 (Council, 1925-7).
 *1911. FERGUSON-DAVIE, KT. REV. C. J.
 1917. FINLAYSON, DR. G. A., "Changi," West Moors,
 Dorset, England.
 *1919. FINNIE, W., 73, Forest Road, Aberdeen, Scotland.
 1925. FITZGERALD, DR. R. D., c/o The Director of Health
 and Medical Services, Singapore.
 *1897. FLOWER, MAJOR S. S., Spencersgreen, Tring, Herts,
 England.
 1928. FOENANDER, E. C., Forest Office, Mentakab, Pahang.
 1923. FOREST BOTANIST, The Forest Research Institute,
 Dehra Dun, U. P. India.
 1921. FORRESTER, H. A., District Court, Singapore.
 *1918. FOXWORTHY, DR. F. W., 835, Lincoln Road, Miami
 Beach, Florida, U.S.A. (Council, 1923, 1926-7).
 *1921. FEASER, F. W., Thatched House Club, St. James
 Street, London, S.W.1, England.
 *1908. FREEMAN, D., 3, Cleve Road, West Hampstead,
 London, N.W.6, England.
 *1910. FROST, MEADOWS, Dernford Hall, Sweffling, nr.
 Saxmundham, Suffolk, England.
 *1912. GALLAGHER, W. J., 15, Collingham Road, London,
 S.W.5, England.
 1931. GARDINER, E. A., Public Works Department, Johore
 Bahru, Johore.
 1932. GARDNER, G. B., Johore Bahru.
 *1917. GARNIER, REV. KEPPEL, Penang.
 1923. GATER, PROF. B. A. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.
 1928. GEAKE, F. H., c/o Government Analyst, Singapore.
 1920. GEALE, DR. W. J., Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
 *1926. GEORGE, J. R., The Chartered Bank, Singapore.
 1923. GILMOUR, A., District Office, Kuala Krai, Kelantan.
 *1922. GLASS, DR. G. S., "s.s. Corfu," c/o P. & O. S. N.
 Co., 122, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3.
 1918. GLOVNE, G. B., c/o Burt Myrtle & Co., Batavia, Java.
 1922. GORDON, T. I. M., c/o The Hongkong & Shanghai
 Banking Corporation, 9, Gracechurch St., London,
 E.C.
 1920. GORDON-HALL, CAPT. W. A., Secretary to Resident,
 Selangor.
 1926. GOSS, P. H., Survey Department, Malacca.
 1927. GOVERNMENT ENGLISH SCHOOL OLD BOYS' ASSO-
 CIATION, THE, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1929. GRACIE, A. J., Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
 1927. GRAHAM, H. GORDON, Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai,
 Perak.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

1929. GRAY, G. L., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
 1926. GREENE, R. T. B., Institute for Medical Research,
 Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1929. GREGG, J. F. F., District Officer, Dindings.
 1931. GREGORY, C. P., Sokor Estate, Kelantan.
 1926. GRICE, N., Magistrate, Singapore.
 1923. GRIEVE, C. J. K., c/o William Deacon's Bank, Ltd.,
 Chorley, Lancashire, England.
 1911. GRIST, D. H., Department of Agriculture, Kuala
 Lumpur, Selangor.
 1922. GUBBINS, W. H. W., c/o Mansergh & Tayler,
 Seremban, Negri Sembilan.
 1926. GUMMER, W. A., Survey Department, Taiping, Perak.
 *1923. HACKER, DR. H. P., Zoological Department, University
 College, London, W.C.1, England.
 1923. HAINES, MAJOR O. B., S. O. S. Estate, Selama, Perak.
 1915. HAMILTON, A. W., c/o General Delivery, Main Post
 Office, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. (Vice-
 President, 1922, 1925, 1929-30, 1932).
 1924. HAMZAH BIN ABDULLAH, c/o Federal Secretariat.
 1923. HANCOCK, A. T., 22-2, Tanglin Road, Singapore.
 1933. HANNAY, H. C., P. O. Box 04, Ipoh, Perak.
 1922. HARROWER, PROF. G., College of Medicine, Singapore.
 1921. HART, HENRY H., 328, Post Street, San Francisco,
 U.S.A.
 1921. HASHIM, CAPT. N. M., 12, Tanglin Road, Kuala
 Lumpur, Selangor.
 *1926. HASTINGS, W. G. W., 56, Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur.
 1921. HAWKINS, G., c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
 1925. HAY, A. W., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
 1919. HAY, HON. MR. M. C., Johore Bahru.
 *1904. HAYNES, A. S., Pebworth Manor, Stratford-on-Avon,
 England. (Council, 1920).
 1932. HAYWARD, M. J., Assistant Adviser, Besut, Trengganu.
 1930. HEATH, R. G., Agricultural Office, Parit Buntar.
 1922. HELLINGS, G. S., c/o Crown Agents.
 1926. HELPS, A., c/o Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur.
 1921. HENDERSON, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore
 (Council, 1928; Hon. Treasurer, 1928-3).
 1917. HEREFORD, G. A., 20, Circular Road, Kuala Lumpur.
 1926. HERON, F. R., Singapore Cold Storage Co., Singapore.
 1933. HESKETH, G. C., Public Works Department, F.M.S.
 *1923. HICKS, E. C., Education Department, Johore Bahru.
 1922. HILL, W. C., Singapore Oil Mills, Ltd., Havelock
 Road, Singapore.
 1927. HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE, Princes Street,
 Westminster, London, S.W.1, England.
 *1923. HODGSON, D. H., Forest Department, Kuala Lumpur.
 1921. HOLGATE, M. R., Education Office, Taiping.
 1926. HOLL, E. S., Kuching, Sarawak.

1923. HOLLAND, A. D., 65, Movies Hill, Olney, Bucks., England.
1922. HOLTTUM, R. E., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Hon. Treasurer, 1923-6, 1928; Vice-President, 1923-31; Councillor, 1932-3).
1933. HOOCKAAS, DR. G., Ph.n., Klitren Lor 48, Jogjakarta, Java.
1921. HOOPS, DR. A. L., c.b.e., Malacca. (Vice-President, 1930, 1932; Council, 1933).
1897. HOSE, E. S., c.m.g., The Manor House, Normandy, Guildford, England. (Vice-President, 1923, 1925; President, 1924).
1931. HOUGH, C. C., Raffles College, Singapore.
1926. HOWITT, C. R., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
1909. HUBBACK, T. R., Sunlaws, Bukit Betong, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1933. HUDDIE, R. J., c/o King George V School, Seremban.
1923. HUGGINS, CAPT. J., Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
1932. HUGHES, T. D., Chinese Protectorate, Seremban.
1922. HUNT, CAPT. H. NORTH, Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
1921. HUNTER, DR. P. S., Municipal Offices, Singapore.
- *1926. INCHE, H. M., c/o The Secretariat, Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1930. INCE, R. E., King Edward VII School, Taiping, Perak.
1929. INGLE, D. K., Mempakul, via Jesselton, British North Borneo.
1922. IRVINE, CAPT. R., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
- *1921. IVERY, F. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
1932. JACKSON, G. M. R., Survey Office, Muar, Johore.
1925. JACQUES, E. V. H., Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1918. JAMES, D., Goebilt, Sarawak.
1927. JAMIESON, M., Government Analyst, Singapore.
- *1921. JERMYN, L. A. S., c/o Education Office, Singapore.
1932. JOACHIM, E. J., Kapoewas Rubber Estate, Soengai Dekan, Pontianak, Borneo.
1910. JOHNSON, B. G. H., Crossways, Littlehampton, Sussex, England.
1933. JOHNSTON, J., Raffles Library, Singapore.
1925. JONES, A. E. THORNLEY, Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
- *1918. JONES, E. P., 20, Waterbell Street, Rye, Sussex.
- *1913. JONES, S. W., c/o Malayan Establishment Office, Singapore.
- *1919. JORDAN, A. B., Chinese Protectorate, Singapore.
1932. JOYNT, H. R., Crown Agents.
1921. KASSIM BIN SULTAN ABDUL HAMID HALIMSAH, TENGKU, Alor Star, Kedah.
- *1921. KAY-MOUAT, PROF. J. R., College of Medicine, Singapore.

1926. KEITH, H. G., Forest Department, Sandakan, British North Borneo.
- *1921. KELLIE, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal, P. O. Chegar Perah, Pahang.
1913. KEMPE, J. E., c/o Crown Agents.
- *1922. KER, W. P. W., c/o Paterson, Simons & Co., Ltd., London House, Crutched Friars, London, E.C.3.
- *1920. KERR, DR. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, England.
1931. KHALID BIN TENGKU BENDAHARA, TENGKU, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1926. KHOO SIAN EWE, 24, Light Street, Penang.
1921. KIDD, G. M., Acting Assistant Adviser, Muar, Johore.
1920. KING, E. M., Kong Lee (Perak) Plants, Ltd., Bagan Serai, Perak.
1927. KING, S. E., Chinese Protectorate, Ipoh.
1926. KINGSBURY, DR. A. N., Medical Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur.
1931. KIRK, W. A., Ulu Langat, Selangor.
1931. KIRKWOOD, T. M., Public Works Dept., Singapore.
1921. KITCHING, T., c/o Survey Office, Johore Bahru.
1915. KNIGHT, V., Fairgreen Cottage, Glemsford, Suffolk, England.
1931. KNOCKER, S. M., Royal Air Force Base, Singapore.
1914. LAMBOURNE, J., Central Expt. Station, Serdang, Sungai Besi P. O.
1929. LANGLADE, BARON FRANCOIS DE, Budu Estate, Raub, Pahang.
1927. LAYCOCK, J., c/o Braddell Brothers, Raffles Place, Singapore.
- *1923. LEASE, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, England.
- *1921. LEE, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan.
1932. LEE CHIM TUAN, Mandalay Villa, Tanjong Katong, Singapore.
1931. LEECHMAN, G. F., 7, Everton Park, Neil Road, Singapore.
- *1922. LEGGATE, J., "Troggett's," Wallis Road, Ockley, Surrey, England.
- *1913. LEICESTER, DR. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang.
1920. LENDRICK, J., 30, Norre Alle, Aarhus, Denmark.
1926. LEONARD, HON. MR. H. G. R., The Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
- *1925. LEONARD, R. W. F., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
1926. LEUTHOLD, W. H., Hooglandt & Co., Singapore.
1890. LEWIS, J. E. A., Harada 698, Kobe, Japan.
1927. LEYH, S. G. H., Government Monopolies, Penang.
1922. LEYNE, E. G., Sungai Purun Estate, Semenyih, Selangor.
1915. LIM CHENG LAW, 294, Brick Kiln Road, Penang.

1925. LINEHAN, W., District Officer's House, Seremban, Negri Sembilan. (Vice-President, 1931, 1932-3).
1931. LITTLE, W. W., Government English School, Alor Star, Kedah.
1928. LOCH, C. W., Central European Mines, Ltd., Mezica, Dravsko Banovina, Jugoslavija.
1918. LOH KONG IMM, 12, Kia Peng Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. LONDON, G. E., The Residency, Seremban.
1932. LONGFIELD, J. E., District Office, Kudat, British North Borneo.
1933. LOPEZ, A. G., "Casynest," 24, Gaol Road, Seremban.
1922. LOWINGER, V. A., C.B.E., Malaya House, 57, Charing Cross, London, S.W.1, England.
1930. LUCKHAM, H. A. L., Kota Bahru, Kelantan.
- *1907. LYONS, REV. E. S., c/o The Methodist Publishing House, Manila, Philippine Islands.
- *1920. MACBRYAN, G. T. M., Kingsdown House, Box, Wilts., England.
1926. MACDONALD, J., The Chartered Bank, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1933. MACDONALD, P. J. W., c/o Koninklyke Paketvaart Maatschappij, Koningsplein 0.5, Batavia-Centrum, Java.
1929. MACE, N., Survey Department, Kuching, Sarawak.
1932. MACDONNELL McMULLIN, C. A., c/o Martin's Bank Ltd., Victoria Road, Wallasey, Cheshire, England.
- *1910. MACFADYEN, E., c/o The Sports Club, London.
1921. MACMILLAN, I. C., 9, Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
1920. McCABE, DR. J. B., 24, St. Mary's Crescent, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, England.
1923. MCKERRON, P. A. B., The Gaol, Taiping.
1931. McNICOL, MRS. J., Kuala Pertang Estate, Kelantan.
1930. MADDEN, L. J. B., Taiping, Perak.
1929. MAHMUD BIN JINTAN, The Malay College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1924. MAHMUD BIN MAT, District Office, Griki, Upper Perak.
1903. MAKEPEACE, W., 22, Holmes Grove, Henleaze, Bristol, England.
1932. MALACCA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Malacca.
1926. MALAY COLLEGE, THE, Kuala Kangsar, Perak.
1927. MALLESON, B. K., Sungai Kruit Estate, Sungkai, Perak.
1916. MANN, W. E., c/o Burt Myrtle & Co., Batavia, Java.
1929. MARJORIBANKS, DR. E. M., Kuching, Sarawak.
- *1907. MARRINER, J. T., Pantiles, Frinton, Essex, England.
1920. MARSH, W., Municipal Offices, Singapore. (Council, 1929, 1931-3).
- *1925. MARTIN, W. M. E.,
1921. MAXWELL, C. N., Sitiawan, Perak.
1922. MAY, P. W., Poste Restante, Batavia-Centrum, Java.

1914. MEAD, J. P., Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1928. MEE, B. S., Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 1933. MEGAT KHAS, DR., District Hospital, Taiping, Perak.
 1927. MEGAT YUNUS BIN ISA, District Office, Parit Buntar.
 1928. MEYER, L. D., Survey Department, Kuala Lipis.
 *1926. MILES, C. V., Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
 1932. MILLARD, E. B., 10, Buckingham, S.N., Rochester,
 New York, U.S.A.
 1925. MILLER, G. S., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Penang.
 *1921. MILLER, J. I., Registrar-General of Statistics,
 Singapore.
 1932. MILLER, N. C. E., Department of Agriculture, Kuala
 Lumpur, Selangor.
 1926. MILLINGTON, W. M., Residency, Malacca. (Coun-
 cillor, 1932; Vice-President, 1933).
 1925. MILLS, G. R., Kinta Kellas Estate, Batu Gajah,
 Perak.
 1926. MILLS, THE HON. MR. JUSTICE J. V., Solicitor
 General's Chambers, Singapore. (Council, 1929-30,
 1932-3).
 1933. MILN, MRS. B. LUMSDEN, Government English School,
 Muar, Johore.
 1925. MILNE, CHARLES, Lendu Estate, Alor Gajah, Malacca.
 1919. MISSIONARY RESEARCH LIBRARY, 3041, Broadway,
 New York City, New York, U.S.A.
 1931. MOHAMED GHAZALY, DATO BENTARA LUAR, 103, Onan
 Road, Singapore.
 1922. MOHAMED ISMAIL MERICAN BIN VAFOO MERICAN
 NOORDIN, Legal Adviser's Office, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1927. MOHAMED NOOR BIN MOHAMED, Free School, Penang.
 1922. MOHAMED SAID, MAJOR DATO HAJI, Bukit Timbalan,
 Johore.
 1933. MOHAMED SAID BIN MOHAMED, District Hospital,
 Pekan, Pahang.
 1921. MOHAMED SALLEH, DATO, Johore Bahru, Johore.
 1921. MOHAMED SHERIF BIN OSMAN, Land Office, Alor
 Star, Kedah.
 1920. MONK, H. F., Alor Star, Kedah.
 1921. MORGAN, S., Wilde & Co., Ltd., 12, Market Street,
 Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 *1926. MORICE, JAMES, c/o Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1920. MORKILL, A. G., c/o Victoria League, Cromwell Road,
 London, S.W.7, England.
 1926. MUMFORD, E. W., Police Department, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1915. MUNDELL, H. D., c/o Sisson & Delay, Singapore.
 1930. MURDOCH, DR. J. W., Mental Hospital, Tanjung
 Rambutan, Perak.
 1913. MURRAY, REV. W., Gilstead Road, Singapore.
 1926. NEIL, W. H. E., Alor Star, Kedah.
 1932. NEWBOLD, THE HON. MR. E., c/o The Chartered

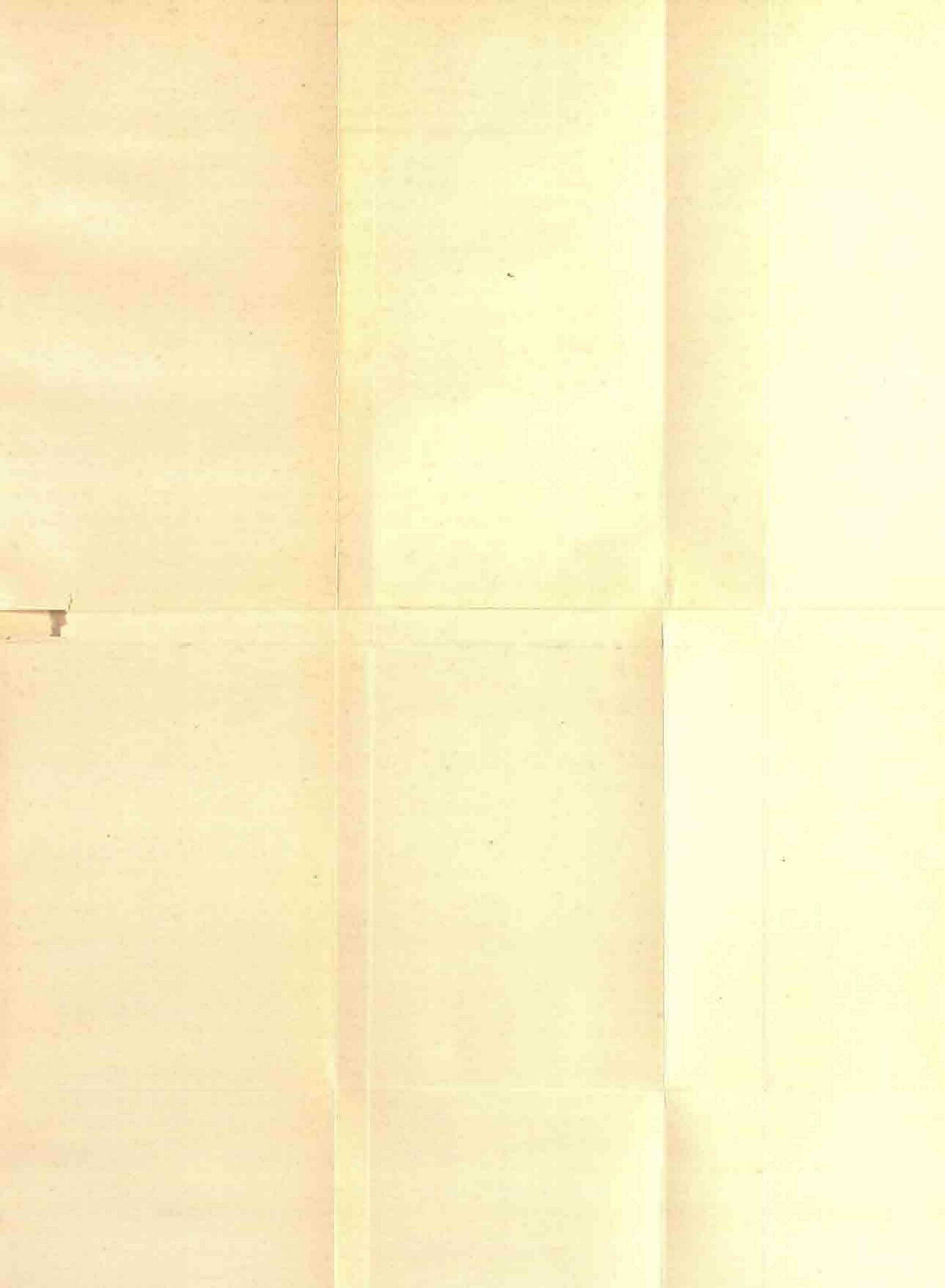
- Bank Chambers, Penang.
1933. NIK AHMAD KAMIL BIN HAJI NIK MAHMUD, Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
1932. NOLLI, CAV. R., 47, Scotts Road, Singapore.
1916. ONG BOON TAT, 51, Robinson Road, Singapore.
1923. OPIE, R. S., 12, Treacher Road, Kuala Lumpur.
1921. ORCHARD, H. A. L., Chinese Free School, Cecil Street, Singapore.
1931. OSMAN BIN TAAT, Court House, Klang, Selangor.
1920. O'SULLIVAN, T. A., Education Office, Penang.
1913. OVERBECK, H., Bintaran Kidoel No. 2, Djokjakarta, Java.
1925. OWEN, A. T., c/o Post Office, Seremban.
1929. PAGDEN, H. T., Holmtoun, West Byfleet, Surrey, England.
1919. PARK, MUNGO, P. O. Delivery 19, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1908. PARR, C. W. C., c.m.g., Parrisees Hayne, Howley, nr. Chard, Somerset, England. (Vice-President, 1919).
1926. PARRY, B. B., Cia Mexicana Petroleo "El Aguila" S. A., Puerto Mexico, Mexico.
1922. PASQUAL, J. C., Jitra, Kedah.
- *1921. PATERSON, MAJOR H. S., Alor Star, Kedah.
1926. PEALL, G. T., c/o R. Seddon, Esq., 52, Chatsworth Gardens, Aston Hill, London, W., England.
1933. PEARSON, C. D., Survey Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang.
1928. PEASE, R. L., Tarsus Estate, Port Dickson, Negri Sembilan.
1922. PEEL, H. E. SIR W., c.m.g., Government House, Hongkong.
1931. PEET, G. L., c/o The Straits Times, 27, Java Street, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
1928. PENANG FREE SCHOOL, Green Lane, Penang.
1926. PENANG LIBRARY, Penang.
- *1921. PENDLEBURY, H. M., Museum, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1926. PENGILLEY, E. E., Land Office, Batu Gajah, Perak.
1924. PENNEFATHER-EVANS, J. P., F. M. S. Police, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
- *1925. PENRICE, W., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1914. PEPYS, THE HON. MR. W. E., Government Monopolies Department, Singapore.
- *1920. PESKETT, A. D., c/o Barclay's Bank, Uckfield, Sussex, England.
1932. PHILLIPS, A. E., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1931. PHILLIPS, R., Sokor Estate, Temangan, Kelantan.
1925. PIJPER, DR. G. F., Batavia-Centrum, Java.
- *1921. PLUMMER, W. P..
1928. POWELL, I. B., Llanfihangel, Talyllyn, Breconshire, Wales.
1932. PRETTY, E., Secretary to the High Commissioner, Singapore.

1926. PURDOM, Miss N., Education Office, Malacca.
 1926. QUAH BENG KEE, 15, China Street, Penang.
 1926. RAE, CECIL, Ipoh, Perak.
 1924. RAJA MUDA OF PERAK, Telok Anson, Perak.
 1932. RAJA RATNAM, A., Infant Welfare Centre, Ipoh,
 Perak.
 1929. RAJA RAZMAN BIN RAJA ABDUL HAMID, Kuala
 Kangsar, Perak.
 1924. RAMBAUT, A. F., Forest Department, Kuala Lumpur.
 1932. RAWLINGS, G. S., c/o Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.
 1916. RAYMAN, L., Treasury, Kuala Lumpur.
 *1926. REAY, J. McCABE, 29, Crystal Palace, Park Road,
 Sydenham, S.E.26, England.
 1924. REED, J. G., Klang, Selangor.
 1931. REGO, REV. A. S., Portuguese Mission, Victoria Street,
 Singapore.
 *1910. REID, DR. ALFRED, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah.
 1926. RENNIE, A. A., Kuching, Sarawak.
 1930. RENTSE, A., Kota Bharu, Kelantan.
 *1921. REX, THE HON. MR. MARCUS, Kuala Lumpur.
 1915. RICHARDS, H. E. MR. A. F., C.B.E., Government House,
 Gambia, West Africa. (Council, 1923, 1926-7,
 1929).
 1923. RIDOUT, F. G., c/o The Harbour Board, Singapore.
 *1926. RIGBY, W. E., c/o The Chartered Bank, Singapore.
 1912. ROBERTSON, J., c/o Messrs. Wright, Johnston & Orr,
 174, West George Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
 1926. ROBINSON, P. M., c/o The Eastern Smelting Co.,
 Ltd., Penang.
 1931. RUITER, L. COOMANS DE, Singkawang, West Borneo.
 1931. SAMUEL, P., Government English School, Alor Star,
 Kedah.
 1926. SANGER-DAVIES, A. E., Forest Office, Taiping, Perak.
 *1923. SANSOM, THE HON. MR. C. H., Police Headquarters,
 Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
 *1919. SANTRY, D., c/o Swan & Maclarens, Singapore.
 *1896. SAUNDERS, C. J., The Lawn, Barcombe Mills, nr.
 Lewes, Sussex, England. (Vice-President, 1910-11,
 1914-15; President, 1916-18).
 1923. SAVAGE, H. E., Geological Survey Department, Batu
 Gajah, Perak.
 1926. SAYID JAN BIN SAYID ASGAR ALI, Government English
 School, Sungai Patani, Kedah.
 1922. SAYID MOHAMED IBID BIN ALI IBID, Alor Star, Kedah.
 1926. SAYID SHAI DALI, Government English School, Batu
 Gajah, Perak.
 *1920. SCOTT, DR. WAUGH, Sungai Siput, Perak.
 1906. SCRIVENOR, J. B., I.S.O., 68, Chaucer Road, Bedford,
 England. (Vice-President, 1922, 1924, 1926-30).
 *1915. SEE TIONG WAH, Balmoral Road, Singapore.

1922. SEHESTED, S., Eastern Smelting Building, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
- *1927. SELLS, H. C., Satuan, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, England.
1926. SHEFFIELD, J. N., Taiping, Perak.
1925. SHELLEY, THE HON. MR. M. B., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor. (Council, 1930-31; Vice-President, 1932-3).
1929. SHEPPARD, M. C. FFRANCE, Kemaman, Trengganu.
1924. SIME, F. D., Bukit Lintang Estate, Malacca.
1921. SIMPSON, P., Presgrave and Mathews, Penang.
1927. SIMPSON-GRAY, L. C., Deputy Public Prosecutor, Ipoh, Perak.
- *1909. SIMS, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, England.
1931. SINGAM, T. R., Government School, Pekan, Pahang.
1926. SKINNER, C. F., Beaufort, Jesselton, British North Borneo.
- *1926. SLEEP, A., Federal Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur.
1922. SMALL, HON. MR. A. S., Treasury, Singapore.
1922. SMART, DR. A. G. H., State Medical and Health Officer, Kuala Lumpur.
1929. SMITH, C. R., Keningau, via Jesselton, British North Borneo.
1912. SMITH, PROF. HARRISON W., Papeari, Tahiti, Society Islands.
1924. SMITH, J. D. MAXWELL, Official Assignee, Kuala Lumpur.
1931. SMITH, J. S., Forest Office, Brunei.
1930. SOANO, A. I. C., Batoe Doelang Estate, Semirangkai Pontianak, Borneo.
1928. SOLLIS, C. G., Inspector of Schools, Kuala Lumpur.
1932. SOMERVILLE, D. A., District Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1910. SONG ONG SIANG, Aitken & Ong Siang, Singapore.
1921. SOUTH, F. W., Department of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
1927. STAINES, E. A., Controller, Posts and Telegraphs, Penang.
1928. STANTON, W. A., Brooklands Estate, Banting, Selangor.
1925. STARK, W. J. K., Labour Office, Kuala Lumpur.
- *1917. STIRLING, W. G., c/o Midland Bank, Melton Mowbray, England. (Council, 1923-5, 1927-31).
1928. STOOKES, DR. V. A., Sandakan, British North Borneo.
1921. STOWELL, E. LA M., Green Glades, Alverstone, Isle of Wight, England.
1930. STRAHAN, A. C., English School, Segamat, Johore.
1927. STRUGNELL, E. J., Forest Office, Kuala Lumpur.
1926. SULTAN IDRIS TRAINING COLLEGE, Tanjung Malim, Perak.

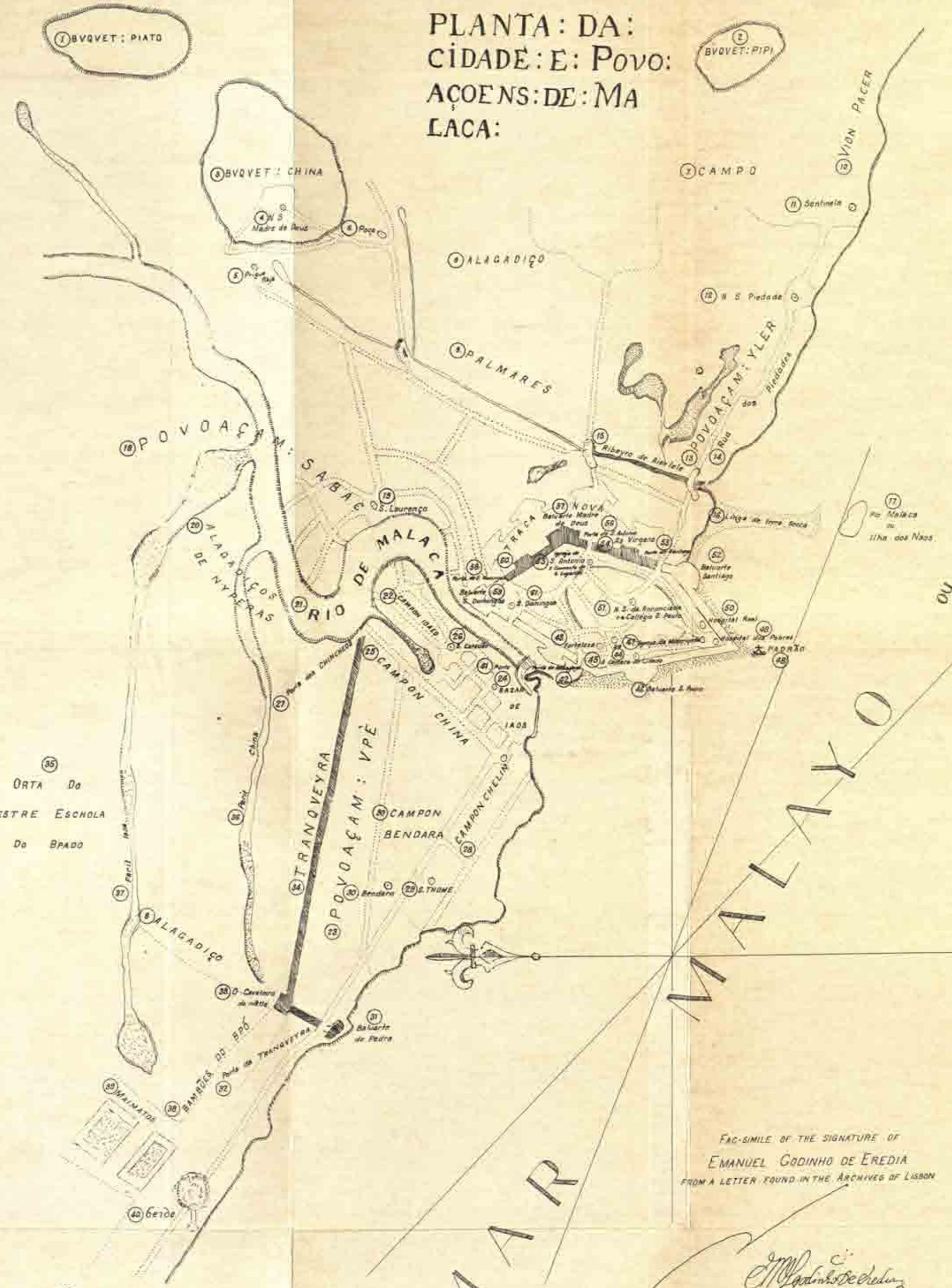
1927. SUNGAI PATANI GOVERNMENT ENGLISH SCHOOL.
Sungai Patani, Kedah.
1912. SWAYNE, J. C., Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly,
London, W.1, England.
1923. SWORDER, G. H., Survey Office, Telok Anson, Perak.
- *1918. SYKES, G. R., Chinese Protectorate, Kuala Lumpur.
1930. SYMINGTON, C. F., Forest Research Institute, Kepong,
Selangor.
1908. TAN CHENG LOCK, THE HON. MR., C.B.E., 59, Heeren
Street, Malacca.
- *1926. TAN SOO BIN, 9, Boat Quay, Singapore
1913. TAYLER, C. J., Telok Manggis Estate, Sepang,
Selangor.
- *1928. TAYLOR, E. N., Deputy Public Prosecutor, Penang.
1925. TAYLOR, W. R., Macclaine Watson & Co., Batavia,
Java.
1933. TEMPANY, DR. H. A., Agricultural Department, Kuala
Lumpur, Selangor.
1921. TERRELL, MR. JUSTICE A. K. A. B., Supreme Court,
Singapore.
1929. TERRY, R. A., Survey Department, Singapore.
1927. THILLAIMUTHU, S., Kennedy Burkhill & Co., Ipoh.
- *1921. THOMAS, L. A., Chief Police Office, Singapore.
1923. THORNE, THE HON. MR. JUSTICE W. H., Johore
Bahru.
1932. THURSTON, F. B., c/o Adviser on Irrigation to the
Malay States, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
1930. TIVY, L. W., Katoyang Estate, Tanjong Malim,
Perak.
1926. TOYO BUNKO, 26, Kami-Fujimayecho, Hongo, Tokyo,
Japan.
1932. TRUMBLE, D. H., 2, Fort Canning Road, Singapore.
1930. TURNER, H. G., Assistant Adviser, Kluang, Johore.
1932. TWEEDIE, M. W. F., Raffles Museum, Singapore.
1923. UNDANG OF REMBAU, THE, DATO SEDIA RAJA
ABDULLAH, Rembau, Negri Sembilan.
1930. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, THE, OF RANGOON, Burma.
1925. VENABLES, O. E., Adviser, Perlis.
1928. VERNON, DR. G. H., Thursday Island, Australia.
- *1926. WADDELL, MISS M. C.
1931. WALKER, F. S., District Forest Office, Malacca.
- *1926. WALLACE, W. A., Tewantin, via Cooroy, Queensland,
Australia.
1921. WALTON, B. S., Chairman, Sanitary Board, Ipoh.
1923. WAN IDRIS BIN IBRAHIM, Muar, Johore.
1932. WATHERSTON, D. C., District Office, Kuala Kangsar,
Perak.
1917. WATSON, J., Suleiman House, Kuala Lumpur.
1916. WATSON, J. G., Forest Research Institute, Kepong,
Selangor.

1916. WATSON, SIR MALCOLM, Ross Institute, Putney Heath,
London, England.
1926. WHEELER, L. R., King Edward VII School, Taiping.
1927. WHITE, THE VEN. GRAHAM, 1, Mt. Sophia Road,
Singapore.
1931. WHITE, W. A., Kota Lama, Brastagi, Sumatra.
1923. WHITFIELD, L. D., Education Office, Taiping.
1933. WHITTON, C. H., Government House, Labuan.
1929. WHYTE, ROBERT PAISLEY, Posts and Telegraphs,
Kuala Lumpur, Selangor.
- *1926. WILCOXSON, W. J., c/o The Straits Trading Co.,
Ltd., Singapore.
- *1920. WILKINSON, R. J., C.M.G., my. Helen May, Chios,
Greece.
- *1926. WILLAN, T. L.
1921. WILLBOURN, E. S., Batu Gajah, Perak.
- *1922. WILLIAMS, F. L., Chinese Protectorate, Johore Bahru.
1933. WILLIAMS, REV. NIGEL, The Parsonage, Taiping.
- *1910. WINKELMANN, H.
1904. WINSTEDT, THE HON. DR. R. O., C.M.G., D.LITT.,
Johore Bahru, Johore. (Vice-President, 1914-15,
1920-1, 1923-5, 1928; President, 1927, 1929,
1931-3).
1932. WONG, S. Q., 7, Cairnhill Circle, Singapore.
1920. WOOLLEY, G. C., c/o Meade King & Co., 22-24,
Orchard Street, Bristol, England.
- *1905. WORTHINGTON, A. E.
1921. WURZBURG, C. E., Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
(Council, 1924-6, 1930; Hon. Secretary, 1925;
Vice-President, 1927, 1929, 1931-3).
1914. WYLY, A. J., Lebong Donok, Moeara Aman, Sumatra.
1923. WYNNE, M. L., Police Department, Singapore.
1926. YAHYA BIN AHMAD AFIFI, 70, The Arcade, Singapore.
- *1923. YATES, H. S., Rt. 5 Box 114, Santa Rosa, California,
U.S.A.
- *1917. YATES, MAJOR W. G.
1932. YEH HUA FEN, 126, Tranquerah Road, Malacca.
- *1920. YEWDALE, CAPT. J. C. "Seatoller," Meadway,
Berkhamsted, Herts, England.
- *1904. YOUNG, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rossire, England.
1920. ZAINAL ABIDIN BIN AHMAD, Sultan Idris Training
College, Tanjung Malim, Perak.



PLANTA : DA :
CIDADE : E : Povo :
ACOENS : DE : MA
LACA :

MEDITERRANEO



FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURE OF
EMANUEL GODINHO DE EREDIA
FROM A LETTER FOUND IN THE ARCHIVES OF LISBON

Drawn by Hannibal Long
July 1923

DRAWN UP ACCORDING TO MAPS AND TEXT OF "DESCRIPTION OF MALACA & MERIDIONAL INDIA & CATHAY" BY
EMANUEL GODINHO DE E

PORtUGUESE MALACCA.

REV. FR. R. CARDON (Société de Missions Etrangères).

1.—BVQVET PIATO (= Malay *Bukit Piatu* "Lone Hill"). Probably one of the three hills which, at present, are called respectively: *Bukit Tinggi*, *Bukit Tengah* and *Bukit Gedong*. The modern Mukim of *Bukit Piatu* is some 2 miles N.—E. of Malacca Town (J. V. Mills).

2.—BVQVET PIPI. The actual St. John's Hill which was taken by the Achinese at the siege of 1629 (1628 according to "Marsden's History of Sumatra"). They had landed at the mouth of Sungai Pongor (= Malay *punggor* "Tree stump river"), about 6 miles E-S-SE of Malacca, "and immediately after their arrival marched towards the castle situated between the city and Pongor. (On map 3 of Eredia facing page 10 of Jansen's edition there is no trace of any fort in this locality). Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, with 200 men, endeavoured to arrest their progress, and charging the enemy killed over 300 without losing a man. João Suarez Vivos, who commanded at Ilir (Hilir) with 350 Portuguese, checked the advance of the Achinese for a time, but being overpowered by numbers was at last obliged to abandon that part and retire. The enemy advanced and took possession of Mount St. João, where they erected a battery from which they bombarded the town." (F. C. Danvers: "The Portuguese in India," Vol. II, pp. 228-34). On the top of this hill may be seen now the well preserved ruins of an old Dutch fort and not a Portuguese fort as has been sometimes supposed.

3.—BVQVET CHINA (= Malay *Bukit China* "Chinese Hill"). On the spur of this hill which rises right above the old Périgi Raju (Malay — The King's well") were built the Church and the Franciscan Convent of the "Mother of God." The site now, as well as the whole hill, is covered by thousands of Chinese tombs of which the oldest one known dates from the Ming Dynasty. It is the grave of one Tin Kap, the first Captain China appointed by the Portuguese, who died probably about 400 years ago. The tomb of his successor, Captain Li, is at *Bukit Tempurong* (Malay — "Skull Hill") on a mound surrounded by a swamp. (cf. G. R. Sykes: "Chinese in Malacca" in "Town and Fort of Malacca"). "When the Portuguese first made their appearance in the waters of the Archipelago, they found the Chinese carrying on trade with its emporia. It deserves, however, to be noticed that while there is abundant evidence of the trade and shipping of the Chinese, there is none whatever of their settlement in Malaysia. Barros specifies the different nations who were settled in Malacca under the Malay Government. but he makes no mention of

the Chinese as settlers." (N. D. Dennys: "Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya"—cf. Crawfurd's Dictionary). In the Yin-Yai Sheng-lan (1416) we read that "the place is visited by Chinese merchants, whenever they come a barrier is made (for collecting tolls)." In the Hai-Yü (1537) we are told that "the merchants of the ships live in a hotel, the chief of which always give female slaves to serve them, and sends them food and drink morning and evening, but if one uses too freely of this, he may be sure that all his money will pass into the hands of the other." Finally the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1643) Book 325 gives a succinct account of the relations which existed between China and Malacca from 1368 to the coming of the Portuguese in the East. ("Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca" by W. P. Groeneveldt, Essays relating to Indo-China, London, 1887, 2nd Series, Vol. I).

4.—N. S. MADRE DE DEUS. Church and Convent of "Our Lady Mother of God." The Convent was founded in 1581 by Frei João Baptista Pizarro, an Italian Capuchin and, in 1584, transferred to the Franciscans of the Province of Portugal. In 1629, after the Achinese had driven back the Portuguese from Banda Hilir, occupied Mount St. John and started bombarding the fortress, they had much to suffer from the fire of the garrison stationed in the Convent, which was an important position for the protection of the fortress. It had been "entrusted to the defence of Diogo Lopez de Fonseca who, after having held it against the enemy for fifty days, made a sally with 200 men who succeeded in driving back 2,000 of the enemy. After this Fonseca fell sick and was succeeded by Francisco Carvalho de Maya who continued to hold it against the Achinese forces, but ultimately it was bombarded with such severity that the place became untenable, whereupon the building was levelled with the ground and then abandoned. The enemy at once rushed in and took possession of the position where they erected fortifications out of the materials of the ruined buildings and Lacsamane (the Laksamana of the Achinese) established his headquarters there with a force of 3,000 men. Meanwhile a fleet arrived from Pahang to assist the Portuguese, and shortly afterwards Miguel Pereira Botelho with five sail from S. Thome. The Laksamana after losing his position, retook it to lose it again and finally fled to the woods where he was captured by the King of Pahang." (Danvers l.c.). "Being brought before the Governor, he said to him with an undaunted countenance: 'Behold here the Laksamana for the first time overcome.' He was treated with respect but kept a prisoner, and sent on his famous ship (*the Terror of the World*) to Goa, in order to be from thence conveyed to Portugal: but death deprived his enemies of that distinguished ornament of their triumph." (Marsden l.c. History of the Kingdom of Achin from the period of its being visited by Europeans, 1628, page 444)—After

the capture of Malacca by the Dutch (14th January, 1641) the Church and the Convent of Our Lady Mother of God were razed by the conqueror (Casim. Christ. de Nazareth i.c. II Tomo p. 236). It is on account of the Church and of the Franciscan Convent which were there of old that, even now, BUKIT CHINA is still called by the Portuguese of Malacca "O monte do S. Francisco" or St. Francis' Hill. During the second part of the sixteenth century, and more especially at the beginning of the seventeenth, many Franciscan Fathers left the Convent of the Mother of God to work, together with the Dominicans, in the neighbouring countries, mostly in Siam and Cambodia. That they were highly esteemed in this last Kingdom appears from the correspondence held between its Rulers and the Guardian of the Convent of Malacca. In his "Histoire de la Mission du Cambodge, 1552-1852" (Bulletin de la Société des Missions-Etrangères de Paris, No. 82, October 1928, pp. 657-660) Fr. J. Pianet, a member of that Society reprints four of these royal letters:—

The first closes with a request from Naqui Prauncar to the Guardian of the Franciscan Convent to "intercede in my behalf in order that my riches should be returned to me." From which we may infer that the King had had one or more of his trading-junks seized by the Governor of the Fortress of Malacca, either because they had not a permit to navigate in the Strait or because they tried to evade paying duty.

In the second letter, the same King engages himself to protect the missionaries who would be sent from Malacca, giving them the liberty to preach and make converts, and promising "to build for the said priests golden churches, as soon as the wars will allow it."

In his third letter Naqui Prauncar begs of the Guardian to assist the ambassadors whom he sends to Goa on their passage through Malacca and to help them in their mission at the Court of the Viceroy, Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo: "All that I wish for in this affair, is that the Viceroy should grant me the same favours as he did to the other Kings of the Archipelago, who do not equal me in my will to serve this city or state" (of Goa).

The fourth letter, dated 1612, is from King Nacqui Sumadey Perão Rach Yomar to thank the Guardian for sending D. Frei Jacome de Conceição.

5.—PRIGVE RAJA (Malay—*Perigi Raja*, "King's Well") known by the Chinese as Sam-po-cheng "Sampo's Well" the principal and certainly the oldest well in Malacca. We are told in the Yün-Yai Sheng-lan (1416) that "in the year 1409, the imperial envoy, Cheng Ho, brought an order from the Emperor (of China) and

gave to the chief of this country two silver seals, a cap, a girdle, and a long robe; he erected a stone and raised the place to (the rank of) a city, after which the land was called the Kingdom of Malacca." W. P. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.* and JRASSB, (1904), XLII, p. 159). Thus came to existence the Town of Malacca according to the old Chinese historians. Dr. Lim Boon Keng in "Present-Day Impressions of the Far East" (pp. 876-7) tells us that this Cheng Ho was an eunuch and statesman of the Ming Dynasty and is "popularly known to every Chinese throughout Malaya as Sam-po-Kung. Tradition says that he remained in Malacca for some time, learning Malay and performing miracles to the astonishment of the natives whose ruler agreed to send tribute to the Dragon Throne. There are now in Malacca, quite close to the Town, the old well alleged to have been used by him, and the little memorial temple with appropriate inscriptions cut on stone, telling of his sojourn at Malacca. The miracles which he performed to save his countrymen from the perils of their travels in unknown lands are among the marvels of romance, illustrating in a striking way one of the factors in the genesis of a myth." According to Governor Bort this well provided the inhabitants with "the best drinking water found." It is still known as "Perigi Raja," and by the Chinese as "Sam-po-cheng" and is used now as a public bath. It is enclosed by walls which the Dutch erected to prevent its being taken by the enemy in time of war. These walls pierced with embrasures for guns and the contiguous guard-house must be later than 1678 as Governor Balthazar Bort in his Report on Malacca, dated the same year, writes, page 20, that "At Bouquet China, in the plank palisade round the guard-house and the well provided with a breast-work" there were 8 brass pedreroes, and, a little further, page 31, he gives the garrisons, "at the Hill Bouquet China by the water well there, as consisting of 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals and 10 soldiers. (JRASMB, 1927, V, Pt. I, pp. 20, 31).

6.—*Poco*.—Well

7.—*Campo*.—Plain

8.—*ALAGADICO*.—Swamp, marsh.

9.—*PALMARES*.—Palm-plantations which were coconut plantations according to the "Plan of the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca" (British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, folio 382) probably drawn by Pierre Berthelot, to accompany the "LIVRO do Estado da India Oriental" by Barretto de Resende. In fact in Berthelot's plan we see depicted together, on the N. and N.-E. of the fortress, big trees and palms of full growth which are coconut trees. In addition to the plans the manuscript of de Resende contains eight charts signed "Petrus Berthelot, first cosmographer of the Indian Empire was drawing in A.D. 1635," that is to say only twenty-two years after Eredia published his plans of the fortress and of the

Town of Malacca. The plan of the fortress of Malacca by Berthelet, has been printed in Vol. III. of the "Commentaries of the Great Alfonso Dalboquerque" published by the Hakluyt Society in 1880, and in the "Town and Fort of Malacca" a guide-book published in 1924 to commemorate the centenary of the British occupation of Malacca.

10.—VION PACER.—Ujong Pasir (Malay—"Sandy Point").

11.—SENTINELA.—Guard-house which was the sole protection of Yler (Banda Hilir) (Eredia).

12.—N.S. DE PIEDADE.—Church of Our Lady of Compassion, parish Church of the suburb of Yler (Banda Hilir).

13.—POVOACAM YLER.—Suburb of Banda Hilir. It extended from the stream Ayer Leleh to Ujong Pasir.

14.—RVA DAS PIEDADES.—Road to the Church of Our Lady of Compassion.

15.—RIBEIRO DE AYER LELEH.—Stream of Ayer Leleh. It has long vanished from Malacca's scenery and maps, unless it be the ditch which is now between the Portuguese Convent and the Malacca Club. It cannot be traced even on the two old Dutch maps of the XVIIth century, kindly lent by the Survey Department to the Museum of the Malacca Historical Society. The only plausible explanation of this disappearance seems to be that all the land comprised between the Ayer Leleh, the suburb of Banda Hilir and the hillocks along which the Ayer Leleh Road runs were drained and dried up during the Dutch occupation. To corroborate this opinion there is in the Museum a reprint of a map, dated 1881, in which can be seen on the site in question, a drainage system, or rather a few ditches which were part of a drainage system.

16.—LINGVA DE TERRA SECCA.—Tongue of dry land which through disintegration has become a kind of swampy shoal.

17.—PULO MALACA OR ILHA DAS NAOS (Malay—*Pulau Melaka*) or "Ship's Island." Now Pulau Jawa. "The island is nearly the shape of a horseshoe and is sixty braces (1 braca = 6 feet) in circumference. Its length is one and a half times greater than its width" (Barretto de Resende's Account of Malacca by Sir George Maxwell, JRASSB. 1911, LX pp. 5, 6). This island was the anchorage of the "Nâos de Trato" or big trading carracks going to or coming from China and Japan. About 1630 orders had been given to build a fort on the said island. "Its purpose," says Barretto, "is to defend the large vessels which cannot lie under the artillery of the fortress. As yet, only the foundations are laid: the materials are being gathered together at Malacca, so that the whole building may be finished at once, because if it

were built gradually it might fall into the hands of the enemy and, once occupied by them, it would be a grand danger to Malacca" (*op. cit.* page 6). The Portuguese had not forgotten the lesson given them by Matelief, on the 1st May, 1606, at the beginning of the siege when "he heavily bombarded Malacca from his ships as well as from a battery raised on the Ilha das Nãos" (cf. C. R. Boxer: "The Affair of the "Madre de Deus," 1929.—The siege of Malacca by the Dutch (1606) page 16). The fort, a small one, of only 30 paces square was then to be built on a hillock of five braces (about 30 feet) in height, but the plan seems never to have been carried out. Moreover it was of absolute necessity for the Governor of Malacca to provide the big trading carracks or "nãos de trato" with an anchorage safe from the attack of the enemy, especially when they were on the way back from China and Japan. "It is impossible," writes Pyrard de Laval, "to tell all the great riches and all the rare and beautiful things which these ships bring back; among others, they bring much gold in ingots, which the Portuguese call pandouro (pão de ouro — loaves of gold). Some gold also they have in leaf and some in dust, also great store of gilded wood-work. . . . gilded with a thousand pretty designs, then all kinds of silk stuffs. . . . They import also from thence much porcelain ware." (The Voyage of Pyrard of Laval. Hakluyt Soc., Vol. II, Part I, page 176)—In 1587 Drake captured the *S. Filipe*, near the Azores, and the sale of her cargo in London produced £108,049. In 1590 the *Madre de Deus*, after a desperate fight fell into the hands of Sir John Burrough. The vessel was taken to Dartmouth and the cargo "exclusive of certain jewels which never came to light," was, at a moderate rate, estimated to be worth £150,000 (Danvers, i.c. Vol. II, page 68). In 1602, a *Não de trato* on her way from S. Thome to Malacca was seized by the English and Dutch fleets; hence a loss of 300,000 cruzados to the Portuguese. On the 25th February of the following year, Heemskerck found the *Santa Catharina* lying in the Johor River at anchor and captured her. "Her cargo was taken to Amsterdam. The curios, lacquer ware, silk and porcelain made a great sensation. The total value of the sale amounted to not less than 3½ million guilders." (R. O. Winstedt: "A History of Johore," JRASMB, 1932, Pt. III). According to Kaempfer, even long after restrictive measures were adopted by the Japanese to lessen the export of specie from their country, in the year 1635 alone 100 (?) tons of gold in specie valued £875,000, were exported from Japan by the Portuguese *Nãos de trato*" (cf. Beckles Wilson: "Ledger and Sword," 1903).

18.—POVOACAM SABAC (OR SABA).—Suburb of Sabac: in the time of Governor Balthazar Bort, Banda Malaca, the present Bunga Raya. It extended from the moat at the bastion of S. Domingos along the banks of the river. "Here wooden houses are built right over the water of the Malacca River. The swamps and marshes

of the terrain are well suited to the mode of living of the fishermen here, they tie up the boats and the nets which they use for fishing all along the sides of their houses; they also traffic in timber and charcoal from the hinterland." (Eredia—J. V. Mills, *l.c.* page 20) The furthest navigable point up the Malacca River was Pengkalan Naning (near the actual Alor Gajah) about 12 miles N. by W. of Malacca Town (J. V. Mills, *l.c.* page 119).

19.—S. LOVRENCO.—Parish Church of St. Lawrence. "There were 1,400 Catholics, besides a large number of non-Christian people living in the swamps and nypeiras." (Eredia—J. V. Mills, *l.c.* page 20). The Church was destroyed by fire in 1630 (Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth "Mitrás Lusitanas no Oriente" II Tomo pp. 230 and 255, Nova Goa 1924) and subsequently rebuilt.

20.—ALAGADICO DE NYPEIRAS.—The swamp of the *nipah* palm, (*Nipa fruticans*, Thunb.) Wine was made from the fruit of this palm by distillation.

21.—RIO MALACA (Malacca River). Barretto de Resende, about 1638 writes: "At a little distance from its mouth, the river becomes narrower and is three or four fathoms deep..... There are many large *carnivorous* alligators, for which reason and because of the mud it cannot be forded. Along the river and inland there are many orchards belonging both to the married Portuguese (casados) and the natives..... Half a league up the river a log of wood is thrown across the water at night, the chain being padlocked to a sentry-box where stands a Portuguese provided by the city, which pays him 6 cruzados a month (1 cruzado — about 2 shillings). This is to prevent any forbidden merchandise being smuggled out or in from the large vessels lying at anchor beyond the Ilha das Nãos" or Pulau Jawa (Barretto de Resende, Sir G. Maxwell, *op. cit.*).

22.—CAMPO IOAEO.—Kampong Jawa actually Kampong Pantai.

23.—POVOACAM UPE.—Suburb of Upe (Upé), the most important of the three Malacca suburbs, now called Tranqueira. In reality it included a large part of the actual Malacca Town, having as boundaries the Malacca River, the sea and the tranqueira. "It obtains its other name of TRANQVEYRA* from the rampart. Its country houses and groves are encircled by a wall which protects it from the attacks of the Saletes (Sea Gypsies, Orang-Laut). Nevertheless, when war-time organization prevails, it is entirely depopulated and abandoned, the whole population taking refuge within the walls of the fortress..... All the houses comprised in this area are made of timber, they are roofed with tiles to ensure against risk of fire; the exigencies of war do not permit of stone

*Tranqueira (Portuguese) rampart, palisade.

and mortar buildings here" (Eredia—J. V. Mills, *i.e.* page 19).

24.—BAZAR DE JAOS.—The Java bazaar. The Central Market, the "Halles Centrales" of the city. "On the beach called the Bazar of the Jaos, at the mouth of the river, every variety of rice and edible grain is sold by the Jao merchants from Java Major (the actual Java), every day at day-break, in their boats or 'champenas' †.... they discharge the foodstuffs from the junks and ships to sell them in that market generally." (Eredia—J. V. Mills, *i.e.* page 20). Malacca, for its rice-supply, had to depend entirely on neighbouring countries, especially on Java. Long indeed before the coming of the Portuguese, Java was the granary of the Archipelago. When the captains of the Chinese junks which were at anchor in the Malacca roads, heard from Albuquerque that he had decided on taking the city by force of arms, they warned him of the difficulties he would meet with in this enterprise and told him that "unless the city were taken by starvation (though the inhabitants had provided even for this emergency) by stopping the supplies which came to her from Java, they thought it very doubtful if any victory could be obtained against her." (Comment. Hakl. Soc. Vol. III, page 99). In 1513, the Chief of Japara, who afterwards became King of Sunda (Jacatra now Batavia), blockaded the Portuguese by sea, intercepting the relief fleet which was bringing provisions from Java: "The town," writes Barros, "began to be in such want of them that our people were reduced to one meal a day, and this consisting of a very small quantity of rice boiled in water. And the famine was so great amongst the Moors and other people of the land that the poor were found dead in the streets, and those who escaped death by famine were killed by tigers in the woods where these poor people had betaken themselves in search of wild fruits." (Crawfurd's Dict., page 175). Two years after, Malacca was starved again by the Kings of the neighbouring Malay countries, incensed against the Governor who had unjustly put to death Abdulah, ex-King of Kampar and Bandahara of the city, "but for some grain at length procured from Siak, the event had proved fatal to the garrison." (Marsden's "History of Sumatra"). At every long siege it had to stand against its enemies, Malacca suffered heavy losses from the want of foodstuffs. The havoc wrought by famine amongst the inhabitants and the garrison during the last siege of 1640-41 was particularly appalling. "The famine was so severe and food such a price that it had been found necessary to send all the women and children out of the town to reduce the numbers dependent upon the available supplies. A story was also told, expressive of the severity of the famine, that a mother had exhumed the body of her dead child for food." (Danvers, *ep. cit.* Vol. II).

[†]Champana = Portuguese small boat — from the Chinese Sam Pan (Cantoneze).

25.—CAMPO CHINA (*Kampong China*). “It extends from the . . . Bazar of the Jaos (Javanese), on the beach, and from the mouth of the river, in a north-easterly direction, . . . along the bank of the same river (Malacca River) to the gate (of the Chincheos) and the earth wall which forms part of the rampart, and beyond the marshland again as far as the Nypeiras. . . . beside the stream of Parit China. In this quarter of Kampong China live the Chincheos* (“people of Fuk-Kien,” Yule and Burnell. . . . and stranger merchants and native fishermen.” (Eredia *i.c.* page 19).

26.—S. ESTREVAO.—St. Stephen was the parish-church of Kampong China. In one of its chapels was venerated a statue of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios (Our Lady of Cures) which, according to thousands of witnesses, was seen weeping on the Rogation Days of the year 1622, during a violent outbreak of plague. By order of the Bishop, Don Goncalo da Silva, a solemn procession of penance went from the Cathedral to St. Stephen, and from that day the plague ended. The miraculous image was since known as Nossa Senhora das Lagrymas “Our Lady of Tears” (Mitras Lusitanas pp. 234, 235). According to the same author, after the fall of the city in 1641 many Portuguese fled to Macassar taking with them their most venerated images, among them the statue of Our Lady of Tears. But, on account of a persecution started against them by the Muhammadan King of Macassar at the instigation of the Dutch, the Portuguese, with Paulo da Costa, Vicar and Governor General of the Diocese of Malacca fled from the Island on a ship en route to Macao. Thence da Costa went to Camboja to minister to the large Portuguese congregation who had taken refuge there. In 1666 he left for Goa where “he delivered to the Provincial of the Jesuits at Goa the image of Our Lady of Tears which he had brought from Malacca.” (Mitras Lusitanas, Vol. II, p. 258).

27.—PORTA DOS CHINCHEOS.—The gate of the Chinese or of Kampong China.

28.—CAMPO CHELIN (*Kampong Kling*). “It extends from the Bazar of the Jaos on the beach in a north-westerly direction and ends at the Stone-Bastion (Baluarte de Pedra). In this quarter live the Chelis (Klings) of Coromandel who ought to be the Chalingas of Pliny. Book VI Ch. 17. (Chalinges — Kalingas).” (Eredia, *i.c.* page 19). As this Kampong was on the sea-shore, it continually fell the first victim to the incursions of the enemy. In 1547, the Achinese landed by night. The geese, however, as they did at Rome, alarmed the inhabitants. “The City was in an Uproar, and the fear and night increased the danger, many fleeing from their own shadows. . . . The Commander-in-Chief

* c.f. Chinehew (Chinese) = Supercargo.

(Simão de Mello) sent out Dom Francisco d'Esa with some soldiers, who going into the Colony of the Chelins, saw in everyone fear and confusion, the face of a War without any Enemy, who was by this time on Board, carrying with him only the imaginary vanity of having landed." (The Life of D. João de Castro the Fourth Viceroy of India, by Jacintho Freire de Andrade and translated by Sir Peter Wyche Kt., into English, 1664. JRASMB. 1928, Pt. IV). "The enemy, when off Malacca, captured seven fishermen, and having cut off their noses, ears and feet sent them to the Commander Simão de Mello with a challenge written in the blood of these unfortunate victims." (Danvers *op. cit.* Vol. I, page 480). On the advice of St. Francis Xavier, who was then at Malacca, a small fleet set off in pursuit of the Achinese and found them in the Perlis River. "They killed 4,000 of the enemy, sank several of their ships and captured the remainder with 300 cannon and nearly 1,000 muskets. The Portuguese losses were but five men, some say only four" (*ib.*). "When on the day of the fight, as St. Francis Xavier was preaching the ways of Life in the presence of a great Multitude, he was suddenly wrapt into a profound ecstasy, as taking in the Heavenly secrets in a soft silence, till waking from the Mysterious intermission of his senses, His pleasant Voice burst forth, in Commanding us prostrate before the Altars, to give thanks to the Auctor of Victories, for at that time had God with our Arms destroy'd the Enemies Fleet." (The Life of João de Castro, *loc. cit.* page 59).

29.—S. THOME.—St. Thomas, parish Church of Kampong Kling. "The two parishes of St. Thomas and St. Stephen contained 2,500 Catholics.....in addition to other non-Christian natives." (Eredia *loc. cit.* page 19).

30.—BENDARA AND CAMPO BENDARA. The house of the Bendahara and his kampong. The Bendahara "having authority over the non-Christian vassals and strangers" was one of the officials of the Administration of the State (cf. Eredia). One of the first Bendaharas under the Portuguese was Abdullah, King of Kampur and son-in-law of Mahmud, last Sultan of Malacca. In 1515 Sultan Mahmud who suspected him of aiming at the throne of Malacca charged Abdullah before the Governor with having offered to deliver over to him the fortress (Winstedt's Johore p. 12). Jorge Dalbuquerque, in spite of Abdullah's protests and of strong remonstrances from the Portuguese officials had him beheaded. As a result of this iniquitous and impolitic proceeding, many of the rich merchants established in the town left it, and for some time the neighbouring states stopped bringing provisions to Malacca.

31.—O BALVARTE DE PEDRA (stone bastion). This was at a point 700 fathoms (1 braca = 6 feet) distance from the mouth of the river in a north-westerly direction.

32.—A PORTA DE TRANQVEYRA (The Gate of the Rampart).

33.—O CAVALLEIRO DO MATTE (The earth gun-platform). The distance between the "baluarte de pedra" and the "cavalleiro do matte" was 60 fathoms.

34.—A TRANQVEYRA (The Rampart) a wall of earth with a palissade running "in a straight line, in a south-easterly direction, through the marshy and swampy gardens lying inland, as far as the Gate of Kampong China (Porta dos Chinheos) which abuts on the river" (Eredia *loc. cit.* page 19).

35.—ORTA DO MESTRE ESCOLA DO BRAO (Bispado). Orchard of the Master of the School of the Bishopric, or of the Precentor of the Cathedral. Pyrard de Laval tells us that "there is also (in Goa) a great number of Palmero or Orta, like our Orchards here (in France) full of cocos trees, planted close together, but these grow only in well-watered and low ground.... They are enclosed with walls, and, along with a house and pretty garden, are called orta, wherein they take their recreation with their families" (Hakl. Soc. Vol. II, page 28). And further (page 111) he says that the Portuguese, on Sundays and Feast days are wont "to mingle their pleasures with their Devotions;" therefore they avail themselves of these occasions to go to their palmaro (palmares) and ortas "wherein they bathe, and taking their collations and other refreshment in the shade." According to Eredia's map, facing page 10 of Jansen's edition, the Bishop's Orchard seems to have covered a large area. It was there very likely that the boys of the Cathedral School spent their week-end holiday. At the time the "Descobridor" drew this map, his brother Domingos was the Mestre Escola or Precentor of the Cathedral. Their father, João de Eredia had taken as wife Dona Elena Vessiva daughter of D. João Tubinanga, King of Supa (Macassar). In 1605, D. Domingos de Eredia, Mestre Escola of the Chapter of Malacca, wrote an account of the establishment of the Catholic Church in Macassar in 1545, under the Pontificate of Pope Paul III (C. C. de Nazareth: *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*).

36 & 37.—PARIT CHINA AND PARIT IAOA—Ditches. (Malay = ditch open drain).

38.—RAMBUES DO BISPO (Bishop's bamboos). The bamboo-hedge enclosing the orchard of the Cathedral Precentor.

39.—MAINATOS.—(Indo-Portug. from Malayalam *mainattu* washermen). "In the washing of the linen they show a marvellous delicacy, and withal it costs but little..... The Menates will bring you your shirt and a pair of drawers very white and cleaned with soap for two bousuruques (Bazaruco, a coin generally of copper, sometimes of tin and tutenay—of iron as Pynard puts it—which was minted all through the Portuguese time: it varied

greatly in value: Pyrard gives it the value of a farthing (*loc. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 67 and 69), moreover they return it all crimped and folded in a pretty fashion, for they soak it so and then leave it to dry, so that this crimping lasts a long while, and the linen seems damasked and made in that way. They use this linen as well at table as for their beds, for shirts, bands, handkerchiefs, etc. Most of them change their linen every day." (*loc. cit.* Vol. II, page 72).

40.—*BVDS*.—According to J. V. Mills, Malay *budi*, "the peepul tree."—(JRASMB., 1930, VIII, Pt. I, p. 5).

41. A PONTE (The Bridge). At the conquest of the town by Albuquerque, fierce combats were fought for the possession of this important point. Albuquerque had received information from Ruy d'Arango when the latter was still Mahmud's prisoner that "the occupation of the bridge which divides the city in two parts might decide victory or at least deal a heavy blow at the enemy." Only after three desperate attacks and at the cost of very heavy losses, did the Portuguese remain at last masters of the position. According to Barreto de Resende the bridge "has two abutments, each being two and a half bracas (15 feet) in height and the same in length and very narrow, so that there is no danger, as has been suggested, of their affording the means of an attack upon Malacca. The bridge above them is composed of large strong planks which can be cut down when necessary." (Barreto de Resende, *i.e.* page 6).

42.—ALFANDEGA AND PORTA DA ALFANDEGA.—The Customs House and Gate of the Customs House. A rule established by the Portuguese was that every trading ship passing by the Straits should possess a pass delivered by the Portuguese authorities. In 1524, D. Vasco da Gama, the second Viceroy of the Asia Portugueza reinforced this regulation, by imposing the penalty of death and loss of property on those who refused to comply with this ordinance. Moreover duties varying from 3% to 9% were levied by the Captain of the fortress on goods imported and exported, and on ships passing through the Malacca Strait, whether they "broke cargo" or not. As pressure was put on the native merchants who had to pay dues which the Captains of Portuguese ships evaded, the port of Malacca was almost deserted. In 1530, Affonso Mexia, Captain of Cochim, writes to the King: "The whole trade is being lost which afforded the revenues of your factory. Your Highness has not nor will have from Malacca any profit as long as the trade is being done by the Captains." (From W. W. Hunter.—A History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 176-177). About 1620, smuggling was carried on at Goa, in Ceylon and at Malacca so extensively that in 1633 the revenues had dwindled to practically nothing. About 1635, according to Barreto de Resende (*loc. cit.*

page 10) the rate of the duty "was 10% and a further 2%" which was going to the town for the fortification and artillery," and the behaviour of the Captains of the Fortress was not such as to induce the trade-ships to resort to Malacca, as they used to buy the merchandize at a price much lower than the current price of the country and to compel the merchants to accept their money. Even the Captains of the port of Malacca "seize their wares, assessing them at a price below their real value and using much abuse. And it has happened that some vessels which have passed without putting in at the fortress have been supposed to be lost." (*loc. cit.* pages 9, 10).

43.—A FORTALEZA (The Fortress). After he had captured Malacca, d'Albuquerque whose policy, contrary to that of his predecessor the first Viceroy Francisco de Almeida, was to establish all along the coasts of the Indian Ocean a belt of strongholds where Portuguese ships could put in to revictual and in case of necessity to be refitted, decided on erecting a citadel in this town.

Guy d'Aranjo who, for nearly two years, had been kept a prisoner by Sultan Mahmud and knew the place well, told d'Albuquerque that there was no free stone¹ (cantaria) to be found in the country for the erection of such an important building. The General then thought of making a stronghold with palisades² (madeira) and having it completed with the shortest possible delay. Meanwhile some Indians (Indios) told him that if he would open a quarry in the sides of the hill upon which were the graves of the old Kings of Malacca, he was sure to get enough stone material to carry out his purpose. At the same time, they also discovered a kind of stone³ (madrepores) with which to make lime. In the Relation of his voyages written about 1609, Pero Texeira tells us that this stone, which was also found at Ormuz, where it is called "Sangh may," fish-stone, grows at the bottom of the sea, and is light. But the wonder about it is that it grows again as fast as quarried. The same is found in the Sea of Malacca, where the Portuguese use it, less as building stone than to make lime, which they report to be very good." (The Travels of Pero Texeira, Hakl. Soc. Appendix B. Extracts from the "Relation of the Kings of Persia," page 233).

On the very day that Albuquerque decided to erect the fortress, he laid the first stone of the future pile at the foot of the same hill where the quarry had been opened. And he ordered that together with the fortress, a church under the name "Annunciada," and a hospital for the sick should be built, also with stone and mortar.

¹ Cantaria (Portuguese) masonry.

² Madeira (Portuguese) timber.

³ c.f. Madraparaisa (Portuguese) mother of pearl.

The construction of these various buildings was pushed on rapidly, because "the General seeing that his own people, if left to themselves, would not be adequate to the task, employed, to help them, the Ambarrajás (Malay *hamba raja*), a miserable class of people, also known as Royal Slaves, who were maintained at the expense of the State." (Cf. *Os Portugueses em África, Ásia, América e Oceania*, Tomo III, pp. 51 and 52).

At the beginning of January 1512, the Fortress was completed and it was given the name, "A Famosa," the Famous. Albuquerque then ordered that the names of all the principal men who had been engaged in this enterprise (*i.e.* the conquest of Malacca and the building of the fortress) to be inscribed on a large stone slab, but as these showed great jealousy of one another, and did not desire that one name should take precedence over the others, Albuquerque gave orders that the stone should be set up over the Gateway with the inscribed names turned to the wall, and on the back of the slab, he had written the words: *Lapidem quem reprobraverunt aedificantes*, "the stone which the builders refused." (s. CXVIII. 22).—(Danvers, *loc. cit.* Vol. I). The fortress stood on the very same ground where the Great Mosque was before. A big square stone-wall (tranqueyra), eight feet thick, surrounded the fort, this disposition being necessitated by the configuration of the ground. At one of the corners, a big four-storied keep (torre de menajem)* raised its dark red mass from the sea, near the bridge leading to Upe, and at high water (on the 1st and the 15th of the month), a ship of 200 tons, but without cargo, could easily come alongside the tower. On the side facing the hill, at each angle of the wall two towers, provided with "bombards" and other artillery commanded the hill. Within the fortress there were two wells of very good water for drinking purposes. (Cf. Castanheda: *History da Descobrim e Conquesta da India pelos Portugueses*. Libro III. Capitulo LXXVI and Commentaries of Albuquerque Hakl. Soc. Vol. III, page 136).

This description of the fortress nearly corresponds with the engraving from Correa's "Lendas da India" reproduced in the "Commentaries" (Hakl. Soc. Vol. III, facing page 122 and in Sir Hugh Clifford's "Further India," page 60).

As for the sketch of the fortress in the "Plan of the Portuguese Fortress of Malacca" ("Commentaries," Hakl. Soc. Vol. III, facing page 137. [British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, folio 382], and "Town and Fort of Malacca"), it is absolutely fanciful as well as the rest of the walled town.

Though this plan accompanies Barreto de Resende's manuscript it does not agree with the description given by the author in

*Torre de menajem (Portuguese) => Tower of homage. Menagem or Menajem = Portuguese abbreviation of homenagem = homage.

Pt. III and published by Sir George Maxwell in J.S.B.R.A.S. No. 60, 1911, page 3 nor with the plan of the fortress by Eredia in his *Declaracam* (reproduced in Bland's "Historical Tombstones").

Moreover the said plan is nothing more than the PLAN OF THE SIEGE OF MALACCA IN 1628 by Iskandar Shah, King of Aceh, and gives a sketch of the positions occupied by the Achinese: *tranqueyra do dachem** (along Bukit China), and *do dachē* (at the foot of St. John's Hill, Banda Hilir): *dachem* as in Castanheda Liv. VI. Cap. L; "De como el rey *Dachem*, etc., . . ."; and in the Commentaries (Hak. Soc. Vol. III, page 145); he began to construct in *Dupe* (*Upoh*) strong stockades. In this plan all the cannon of the palisades are pointed against the town, and the top of the Convent of The Mother of God is destroyed by cannon.

One hundred years after, in 1613, at the time Eredia wrote his *Declaracam*, or Description, of Malacca, the big keep no longer rose from the water's edge. The alluvium which had gathered at the entrance of the river, a natural withdrawal of the sea or reclamation work (which had been done for the erection of the ramparts now encircling the whole hill of St. Paul) or all these causes combined made the fortress stand entirely on *terra firma*. Except for the donjon which was still much the same, the rest of the fortress had undergone many alterations, as the following description by Eredia bears witness. "The fortress (the donjon) was in shape a quadrilateral of which each side measured 10 fathoms, its height was 40 fathoms, on the east there was a circle formed by walls of stone and mortar, there was a wall in the middle, so that in time of disturbance, the people with their supplies could take refuge inside the circle of the protecting walls. The castle or tower was as high as the hill. It was not built on the top of the hill because it was preferable to place it at the foot, right on the sea, where it could be easily reinforced in time of war." (*loc. cit.* page 17). A precaution taken by Albuquerque which, at least once, proved to be advisable. In fact, not more than seven years before Eredia wrote this remark, on May 1606, at the beginning of the siege laid by Matelief against Malacca, "two small vessels slipped in with some 50 or 60 Portuguese and 300 natives on board, which was a valuable reinforcement, for the defence numbered only 80 Portuguese and a company of Japanese, whilst the rest of the force at the disposal of the Governor (the famous Andre Furtado de Mendoza who became Governor of India, for three months only, in 1609) amounted to some 3,000 slaves and Malays who were of very little, if any, use for serious fighting" (Boxer: *The Affairs of the Madre de Deus.—The siege of Malacca by the Dutch*, page 16).

* *Tranqueyra do dachem* (Portuguese) = rampart of the Achinese.

With reference to the 40 fathoms given as the height of the castle keep, Mr. J. V. Mills remarks: "This makes the fortress 240 feet high which has raised suspicions of exaggeration." Governor Bort says that the "strong square tower" built by the Portuguese was 120 feet in height (JRASMB, 1927, V., Pt. I, page 39).—Possibly Eredia mistakenly wrote "fathom" for "yard" (*ib.* VIII, Pt. I, (1930), page 102, (41)).

In MS. No. 197, of the Sloane collection of manuscripts in the British Museum, written in 1638, or thereabouts, by Barreto de Resende, we find another description of the fortress (*loc. cit.* 3):—"The fort within this town where the Captain resides is five stories high, the Captain lives on the second storey, which is square like the tower, each wall being 20 paces wide. The other apartments are set apart for the Captain's guests, and for storing ammunition. On the first floor 4,000 candys (1 candy = about 500 pounds) of rice were stored, but are no longer there. It is surrounded by a wall of the same height and thickness as that of the town. The Captain's family lives in houses on a level with the second storey of the tower. The only artillery is that of the bastions already referred to."

Two years later (1641) the fortress and the city of Malacca were taken by the Dutch General, Adriaan Caartekoe, after a memorable siege which lasted from May 1640 to January, 1641. On the 2nd August, 1640 a severe blockade was established by the Dutch which completely cut off the town by land from the rest of the world. After landing troops about a third of a mile north of Upe (Tranquerah), they occupied Upe and erected two batteries about a pistol shot from the Walls of the town, but so valiantly was the defence conducted that the Dutch army desisted from making an assault. Meanwhile the Johore fleet kept a close watch over the harbour and prevented any relief from coming to the town. The Dutch guns inflicted great damage upon most of the public buildings. Notwithstanding this, the garrison continued to reply to the Dutch fire with their heavy pieces on the walls, and from a battery on St. Paul's Hill. The plague broke out in the Dutch fleet and army causing more deaths than the guns of the Portuguese. These were made aware of the condition of the besiegers by deserters from the Dutch army; but some who escaped from Malacca stated in the Dutch camp that the defence of the city consisted only of 200 white and 500 black troops and that famine was raging in the town.

The plague caused as much loss to the Dutch as the famine did to the Portuguese. From November to January it carried off all the principal commanders of the besieging army amongst them Sergeant-Major Adriaan Antonissoon who was in charge of the expedition. His successor Willemsoon Caartekoe determined to

put an end to the existing state of affairs and accordingly ordered a general assault to be made on the 14th of January, 1641.

Early in the morning they attacked the bastion of St. Domingos. In spite of a most determined resistance, the fort was taken after a violent hand-to-hand struggle. The Portuguese then retired to the Bastion of "Madre de Deus" from which the Dutch dislodged them again after comparatively feeble opposition. One by one the other bastions fell into the hands of the besiegers, but when they came to the Fortileza Velha*, the old Fortress (a Famosa), they met with such a warm reception that they had to seek shelter from the Portuguese fire in the Hospital fort (close to the new Pauper Hospital, cf. No. 49) whence they engaged in an artillery duel with Fortileza Velha. During this engagement, Caartekoe, who was now ill, left his bed, and from the wall made known to the Portuguese the conditions of an honourable surrender. The remnant of the Portuguese army surrendered to the Dutch who took possession of the town without violence or opposition.

The Governor Dom Manuel de Souza Continho died two days after the capture of Malacca and was buried by the Dutch with military honours, in the Church of St. Domingos. "The Viceroy (D. João da Silva Tello de Menezes), in reporting this loss to the King, suggested that one of the objects of the proposed peace with the Dutch, should be, if possible, to obtain the restitution of Malacca, but, failing this, he urged that a new settlement should be formed in the neighbourhood, for which purpose he suggested the river of 'Formosa' (now called Sungai Batu Pahat), 12 leagues from Malacca, as a suitable site. Neither of these projects was, however, realised and, with the year 1641 ended the Portuguese power in the Malay Peninsula." (Danvers, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 278-82).

The Dutch razed the "Famosa" to the ground.

44.—A SE.—The Cathedral or NOSSA SENHORA DA ASSUMPCAO (Our Lady of the Assumption) "was probably already built by 1515, because it was this year that the first Parish Priest, Affonso Martins, arrived." (From a letter from Fr. Schurammer, S. J. to Rev. Fr. Francois, Malacca, February, 1931). In 1557 Pope Paul IV instituted the Diocese of Malacca by his Bull PRO EXCELLENTI PRAEMINENTIA (4th February). The first Bishop was D. Jorge de Souza de Santa Luzia, a Dominican, who ruled his diocese for 16 years. He sent missionaries to the islands of Solor and Timor. He died in a Convent at Goa. The second Bishop was D. João Ribeiro Gayo who was appointed in 1581 and died in 1601 or 1603. The third Bishop, D. Fr. Christovão de Sa e Lisboa, was appointed by Pope Clement VII and ruled

*Fortileza Velha (Portuguese) = old fortress.

the diocese from 1605 to 1610, when he was transferred to the Archdiocese of Goa. His successor, D. Goncalo da Silva, occupied the See from 1615 to 1629, in which year he was transferred to the See of Ceuta in North Africa. Malacca was then ruled by the priests Francisco Soares and Lourenco da Costa till the coming of D. Fr. Luiz de Melo, in 1640. The following year, Malacca was taken by the Dutch and after that event the Bishops of Malacca had no fixed residence. D. Fr. Luiz de Melo died in 1648 (According to the Annual of the Church of St. Joseph, Portuguese Mission, Singapore, 1933, page 5).

45.—**CAMERA DA CIDADE**.—The "Town-Hall" where the Councils were held. According to Eredia, "The administration of the State is organized as follows: there is a Governor appointed for three years, a Bishop and other Dignitaries of the Episcopal See, Municipal Officers in accordance with the privileges of Evora, Ministers of the House of Mercy, Royal Officers for finances and justice, and the native "Bandara,"* having authority on the non-christian vassals and strangers" (*loc. cit.* page 20). In 1571, the Captain of the Fortress, Antonio Monisz Barreto, was raised to the rank of Governor of the South the title descending to his successors.—"El Sul," the South meant then all the countries beyond Malacca.

46.—**BALVARTE DE S. PEDRO** (Bastion of St. Peter) which was known also as A COVRACA (the cuirass, the breast-plate of the fortress). The site is occupied now by the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. In the front of the "couraca" were the gallows.

47.—**IGREJA DA MISERICORDIA**.—Church of the Confraternity of Mercy, or Nossa Senhora da Visitacão (Our Lady of the Visitation). Wherever the Portuguese erected a fortress, they established at the same time, a "Misericordia," that is a Confraternity to take absolute control over all works of mercy. It was the ambition of every good citizen to be admitted into this Confraternity. At its head was a "Provedor," or Prior, chosen from among the noblemen of the city. He was assisted in the discharge of his duty by a Treasurer and a Prior of the Prisoners. The duty of these two last Officers was to give alms and to look after the welfare of the prisoners, both civil and criminal, and to present petitions for mercy. The "Provedor's" duty was to provide relief for widows, orphans and the poor. As already said, these three Officers were members of the Council of the Fortress. As for the members of the Fraternity, they were bound to visit the prison, to bury the dead, to accompany to the gallows those under sentence of death, and to have masses said for the repose of their souls. All the Officers were appointed for one year only. The charge of "Provedor" was much coveted on account of its

*Bandara = Portuguese rendering of "bendahara" (Malay)

importance. Pero da Silva da Gama, when still Captain-Governor of Malacca, complained of his brother Alvaro de Ataide who was undermining his authority: "With his Capa da Misericordia (his cloak of Brother of Mercy), there he is robbing me of my fortress." (Brou. S. J.: "Saint Francis Xavier").

48.—O PADRAO.—A "PADRAO" was a stone pillar bearing on one face Coat-of-Arms of Portugal and surmounted by a Cross. Wherever the Portuguese landed, they first erected a "padrão" as a sign of their taking possession of the place in the name of Christ and of the King.

49.—O HOSPITAL DOS POBRES (The Pauper Hospital). The author of "Os Portugueses em Africa, Asia, &c." says that "on the same day that he (d'Albuquerque) started to work (at the construction of the fortress)...he ordered the erection of a Church and a Hospital for the sick." No doubt the Pauper Hospital, mentioned on Eredia's maps, was built subsequently as the Citadel grew in importance. At his first visit to Malacca, in 1545, St. Francis Xavier declined the hospitality offered to him by Father Martinez and "insisted on taking up his quarters in a little house near the Hospital...and later, following his usual custom, moved into the Hospital itself" (Margaret Yeo: Saint Francis Xavier, page 158). After 1613, the Pauper Hospital was removed to the river side, at the place where later the Dutch built the Bastion Ernestus Casimir, and where is now the Post-Office, in front of Blacksmith's Street.

50.—O HOSPITAL REAL (The Royal Hospital) for Europeans "wherein they lodge, whensoever they are sick, where every yeare at the least there entered 500 live men and never come forth till they are dead, and they are only Portingals, for no other sick person may lodge therein, I mean such as are called white men, for the other Indians have an Hospitall by themselves." (van Linschoten. Hak. Soc. Vol. I, page 237: about the Royal Hospital at Goa). This heavy list of deaths must have been due only to the want of skill in the physicians for we know from Pyrard de Laval that patients were carefully tended and everything was kept in very good order, just as in our modern hospitals. (Pyrard de Laval, Hakl. Soc. Vol. II, pp. 3-15). Although the Royal Hospital of Malacca was not as important as the corresponding institution in Goa, it no doubt provided the same standard of comfort for the people, rich and poor, who were admitted to it. Linschoten makes the remark that "These Hospitals in India (*i.e.*, all over the Asia Portuguesa) are very necessarie for the Portingals, otherwise they should consume away like miserable men, but by ye means they are relieved whatsoeuer they have, eyther sicknessse, wounds, secrete diseases, &c." (Van Linschoten, Vol. I, l.c. p. 238). The patients, for the most part suffered from continual fevers, which are burning agues, and consume men's

bodies with extreme heate whereby within four or five days they are eyther whole or dead. This sicknesse is common and very dangerous, and hath no remedie for the Portingalles but letting of blood." (Linschoten. I.c. page 236).

51.—NOSSA SENHORA DA ANNUNCIAADA E COLLEGIO DE S. PAVLO (Our Lady of the Annunciation and College of St. Paul) This Church called also NOSSA SENHORA DO MONTE, Our Lady of the Mount, was erected at the very place where stood the Malay Kings' Palace, by Affonso Dalboquerque in 1511, together with the Fortress and the Hospital. It was also later known, as at the present day, as the IGREJA DE S. PAVLO, the Church of St. Paul. It was given to St. Francis Xavier and the Society of Jesus by Dom Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, in 1548 or 1549. In March 1553, the body of the Saint was brought from Sancian and buried in the sanctuary of the Church where it remained till August 15th, when it was taken out incorrupt, placed in a magnificent coffin and, in December of the same year, sent to Goa where it is still preserved without any sign of corruption. In 1548, St. Francis Xavier sent to Malacca Fr. Peres and Bro. Oliveiro to establish a college on the hill, close to the Church, for the children of the town and of the Eastern Islands. The College, a residence of the Jesuit Fathers, was called St. Paul like the one in Goa. Hence the custom in those days of calling the Jesuits and their pupils "the Paulists." Eredia received his early education at this College, and, at the age of thirteen, went to Goa to complete it. In 1566, the Jesuits restored and enlarged the Church, adding a chancel and a vestry which was surmounted by a tower which served, as was the custom in those days, the double purpose of a watch and clock tower. In the new Church, as in the old, persons of distinction were buried, amongst them D. Miguel de Castro (about 1577), the second Bishop of Japan, D. Pero Martinez (1598) and Antonio Pinto da Fonsequa, Captain General on Land and Sea in the regions of the South (a nas partes do Sul) in 1635. Their tombstones are preserved in the ruins of Our Lady of the Annunciation or St. Paul. The College, like the Church, was enlarged several times. In a letter (Malacca, 29th June, 1585) to Ludovico Marelli, Fulvio Gregorio writes "The College is built on the highest point of the town. It has two verandahs (loggie) and has a fine view on the whole town, sea, islands, rivers, forests and gardens." In 1646, Fr. de Rhodes S. J., on his way back from China, passed through Malacca, where he had previously spent nine months in 1622, and was a sad witness of the havoc wrought in the town during the first five years of Dutch occupation. In 1730 (27th December) Fr. Cajetan Lopez wrote to the General of the Jesuits: "Where Our College formerly stood, there is at present a Dutch fortress. On the highest point there is a place for a flagstaff (Schurhammer S. J.). Until Christ Church was built (in 1741, according to the Rev.

Archdeacon Swindell, in 1753, according to the Rev. N. D. Bower in "Malacca Town and Fort,") St. Paul's Church was used by the Dutch for divine worship, and later, as a burial ground for the notables of the city. All the Dutch tombstones, together with a few Portuguese are preserved in the Church of the Mount, except that of the wife of Joan van Riebeck, fifth Dutch Governor of Malacca from 1662 to 1665 (in fact he had the titles of Commander and President only), which was sent to the Cape of Good Hope, in 1915. Van Riebeck was the founder of Cape Colony. On close inspection, one can see that several of these Dutch stones were originally Portuguese. The Dutch, after effacing the Lusitanian Coats-of-Arms and inscriptions, used them again for their own purpose. The scarcity of ancient tombstones dating from the Portuguese ascendancy is, in a certain measure, attributable to this much-to-be-regretted practice.

52.—BALVARTE DE SANTIAGO (Bastion of St. James) was renamed Wilhelmus by the Dutch. It was a small round bastion with an underground powder-cellars (Bort, *op. cit.*). Bort warns us that, in his time, no change had been made in the scheme of the fortifications and that "the bastion, points and angles or breastworks in the fort of Malacca in existence in the time of the Portuguese" still existed when he wrote his Report. "The powder-cellars under the Bastion Wilhelmus I had cleared of the soil with which it was filled and made fit again for its purpose." (*ib.*, page 17).

53.—PORTA DE SANTIAGO (St. James' Gate) is the only vestige of the fortifications left by Farquhar. If we believe Governor Balthazar Bort, it is not the original one built by the Portuguese, as both this gate and that of the Alfandega (Customs House) were rebuilt in 1669 "because the gates in existence here, when I came, were old, bad and inadequate for this fine strong fort. The gate on the land side, close to the bastion Wilhelmus I found blocked," which probably means "crumbled" as a result of the heavy bombardments which half destroyed the town during the siege of 1641. (*ib.*, page 17). In 1807, the fort (*i.e.* the ramparts) which till then had remained in a tolerable state of preservation—it was valued at 700,000 dollars—"was destroyed, by order of the British Government, at the enormous expense of 260,000 rupees" (£70,000) (Newbold British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca Vol. I, page 126).

54.—BALVARTE DAS VIRGENS.—The Bastion of the 11,000 Virgins (Legend of St. Ursula) was the third to be stormed by the Dutch on the 14th January, 1641. It was renamed "Henriette Louise" by its new masters.

55.—IGREJA DE S. ANTONIO E CONVENTO DE S. AVGSTINO (Church of St. Anthony and Convent of St. Augustin). The Convent was founded in 1590 by Frei Jeronimo, a Franciscan

Monk of the Convent of the "MADRE DE DEVS" (Mother of God, on Bukit China), and the Church of St. Anthony was given to the Augustinian Fathers by D. João de Gayo, then Bishop of Malacca. In 1630, a big fire destroyed both Church and Monastery. They were rebuilt afterwards, the Church on a larger scale, by Frei Antão de Jesus. The foundation stone was laid by D. Gonçalo da Silva, appointed to the See of Malacca in 1610. The Convent of the Augustinians and St. Anthony's Church were at the corner of Fort Terrace, where there is now a small yard.

56.—PORTA DE S. ANTONIO (St. Anthony's Gate). In Eredia's time this Gate, together with the Alfandega⁷ Gate, were the only ones in common use and open to traffic.

57.—BALVARTE DA MADRE DE DEVS (Bastion of the Mother of God). It had spacious, convenient, vaulted cellars for gunpowder and was provided with casemates. In its construction, however, as in that of the Bastion of St. Dominic, there was a serious defect: it could not be well flanked, and therefore was hard to defend from the attacks of the enemy. In fact it fell into the hands of the Dutch in 1641, after only a very weak resistance. It was renamed "Emelia" by the Dutch. (cf. Bort's Report and Valentijn's Description of Malacca).

58.—PORTA DE S. DOMINGOS (Gate of St. Dominic). It was situated near the entrance of the *kampong* of the present P.W.D. and Survey Offices or more correctly just behind the Church of St. Francis. (According to the Map No. 562 published in 1929 by the Survey Department).

59.—BALVARTE DE S. DOMINGOS (Bastion de St. Dominic). A great round Bastion, but its face could not be commanded on the riverside either from the walls, or from the nearest bastions. "It was, therefore, at that point," writes Governor Bort, "that they (the Dutch troops) attacked the fortress, stormed and took it, because the faces . . . are the weakest parts of fortifications, since they lie nearest to the foe and cannot defend themselves but must get their protection from the nearest flanks." (Bort, *i.e.* page 25). On the 14th January, 1641, after a siege which had lasted eight months, the Dutch, numbering about 650 men altogether "all our healthy troops," writes Valentijn, "both soldiers and sailors, . . . marched towards the Bastion 'S. Domingo' and shouting the war cry 'Help us God' they stormed that part of the town with irresistible courage." The Portuguese, however, offered "a brave and unexpected resistance," but after a fierce hand-to-hand fight, were driven back along the skirts of the town "to the point Madre de Deus."—The Dutch renamed "Victoria" the Bastion of St. Dominic. This bastion was at the place where stands now the Government Monopolies (formerly St. Francis School established in 1880 for boys by Rev. Father E. F. Delouette, in the old Convent School).

60.—TRACA NOVA.—New plan: "At a later date, João Baptista, the Architect General, by order of the King, re-drafted the plan of the fortress, taking in more ground by a new trace for the wall of the south-east side in the flat lands which extended from the Bastion of Santiago to the Bastion of S. Domingos, and replacing the earth walls by new walls constructed of stone and mortar for the whole distance, but this defence-work was never executed." (*Eredia, loc. cit.* page 18). The consequence of this neglect was the loss to the Portuguese of one of their most important strategical points in the East, and the capture of Malacca tolled the knell of the Lusitanian ascendancy in these parts of the world.

61.—S. DOMINGOS. St. Dominic's Church and Convent of the Dominican Fathers (White Friars). The Convent was founded in 1556 by Frei Gaspar da Croce. This emulator of St. Francis Xavier left Portugal in 1548 for Goa where he established the first Convent of his Order in the Indies. From Goa he went to Malacca, then the centre of religious, political and commercial activity in Indo-China. In this town, he met St. Francis and the first Jesuits, Francisco Peres and Roque Oliveira who had just opened a primary school, the future St. Paul's College. At that time, the Dominican Province in the East had already founded 18 residences with 60,000 converts either at Malacca itself, or scattered in the Sunda Islands, the Moluccas, Celebes and all along the Gulf of Siam. After the departure of St. Francis for Japan (1549), Gaspar da Croce left for Cambodia and Cochinchina (1550) to preach the Gospel. Five years after, he reached Macao and Canton by land. In the last mentioned town he made only a few converts as he was very soon arrested by the Mandarins, imprisoned and finally banished. He then came back to Malacca, where he worked again for some years until he left for Ormuz and returned to Portugal (1569) broken down in health. The same year, Dom Sebastião, King of Portugal appointed him Bishop of Malacca and then of Macau, but the humble man declined these honours and in the following year, on the 5th of February, died at Satubal in the Convent of the Dominicans, when working among the plague-stricken. (*cf. Fr. J. Pianet, loc. cit.* No. 82, 1928, page 396,—and Cas. Christ. de Nazareth "Miras Lusitanas no Oriente, Tomo II, page 253).

NOTES on the Translation of BORT'S REPORT ON
MALACCA in Journal M.B.R.A.S. 1927.

By M. MACDONALD.

Introduction.
page 1

Chiliinching is the freehold estate east of Tanjung Priok (Andree's atlas)—the house is still extant. It was there the British force landed in 1811 and probably Col. Mackenzie met Mrs. Caulier. This family is still known at Batavia and may well have been related to Bort or one of the earlier copyists.

p. 2

That the importance of this memorandum was well felt in Batavia is shown by the fact that there are still two copies in the Batavia archives, the later from about 1770 and headed by the "Marginale annotation" from the earlier by way of index. The older seems nearly contemporary with the India Office copy, although it takes 583 pages instead of 367: the later has 308. The Hague copy seems older, if not the original (see p. 40).

p. 6

As the "Abstract of contents" seems the work of the translator I wonder if the India-Office copy has no marginal notes at all? This would be unusual.

p. 10 line 2

sedem bellum; the second word is clear in both copies; the old one begins with *cod.* or *ar.* . . . , the new one has *zetel* = seat.

p. 19 .. 24

Total of outermost line should read 364.6.

p. 24 .. 7

For *illegible* read 6.

p. 27 .. 22

The 4 drums in cask No. 5 were there "with their appurtenances" *met haar toe-behooren*.

p. 33 .. 15

"The following draw 4 re^s 12 stivers whereof 1 re is on account," this being the home-account for old debts.

p. 40 .. 20

The mistake, 327 for 372, is in both Batavia copies, so that only the Hague copy comes from another source.

p. 50 .. 20 & 23

Bastey should be *Basley* which Bort probably wrote phonetically for the Swiss (?) Basly found on his grave.

Journal Malayan Branch [Vol. XII, Part II.

- p. 57 line 12 *guarders* is *gawardes* in the old and *gouardes* in the new Batavia copy. I suggest it means "guards," the elders of the place, 200 gantangs being a very scant maintenance for all the inhabitants.
- p. 58 " 7 *baloijns*, like the later copy: the older has *paloijns*.
- p. 58 " 8 A *pangkalan* is not in but near the place. "If any praus or paloijns come down at the river-end of the Naning road." Vessels from downstream would not pay duty, having been taxed already at Malacca.
- p. 60 " 15 Both copies have *ten sy den selve blycke van voors. gemeen consent* meaning only, "unless abovementioned common consent is proved to him(self)."
- p. 66 note The "contrivance" to hang up the jacket is very quaint and the younger copyist put a comma behind the buttons, probably thinking the handle a remnant of a purse.
- p. 70 line 32 The conjectured *eenige* is otiose; "one of our Malay inhabitants and three of the men" being quite sufficient as "bearers of this letter."
- p. 87 " 18 *de meeste...en de minste* may also mean "the greater part...and a few"; this is suggested by the clear difference of only two sorts of graves. More important is the fact that no graves were sold from 1669 till '78 showing the tombstones dated between to have been removed from another burial place (the old lower church?).
- p. 90 " 16 The cashier is styled *de Vogel* in the new copy.
- p. 93 " 15 The sergeant's name is plainly *Codaen* in same.
- p. 113 note *schuiten* still is the Dutch word for ingots.
- p. 122 " The right translation is: "must have in mind"; the only other one "must be suspected" does not apply here.
- p. 124 line 13 5000 is not an error but an omission: the new copy rightly has 50000.

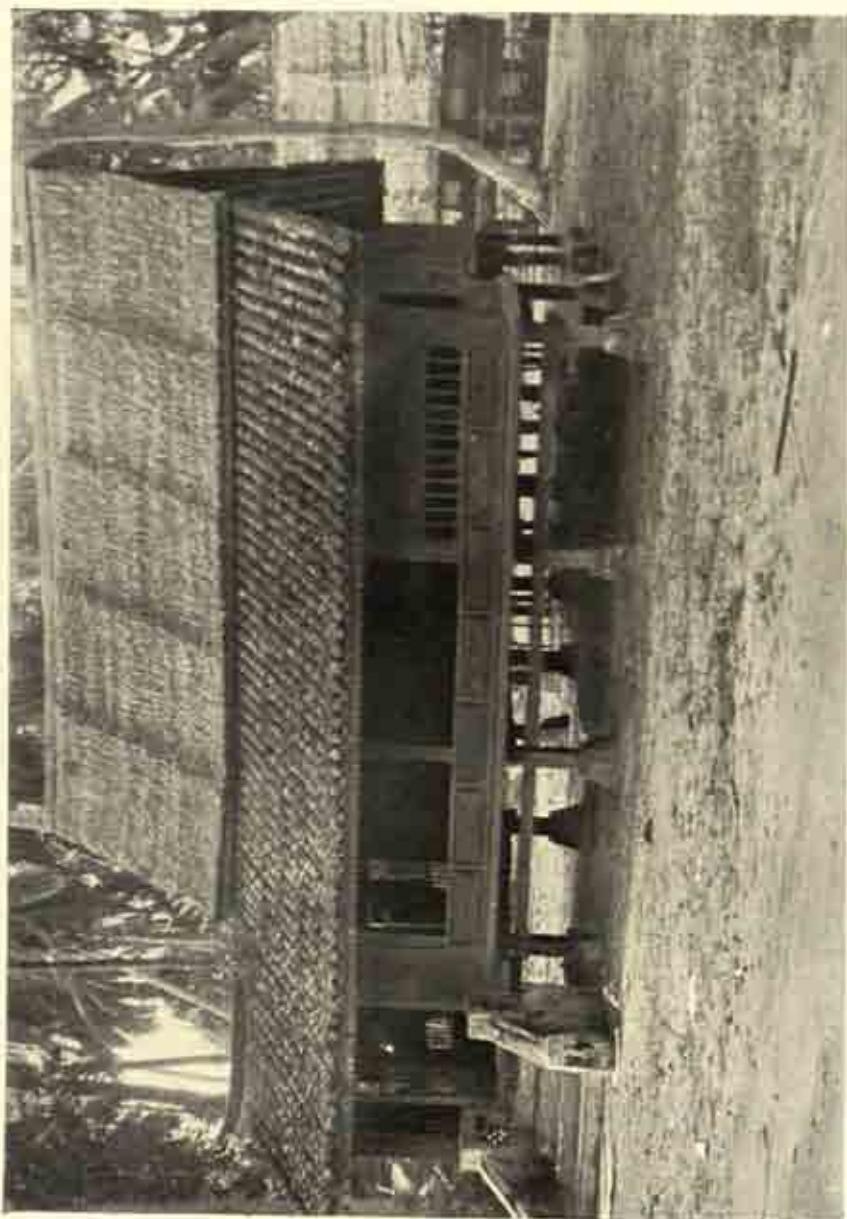
p. 130 line 1

Both Batavia copies have the same specification of trade districts. The name "North Eastern trade" is quite reasonable for Pahang and places beyond and the inclusion of Johor, as lying on that route, acceptable. What startles is "Borneo and places on that island such as Banjermassing and Succadana," but these follow after Pahang, which suggests that the trade with Borneo went by Pahang. This is strengthened by the facts that the Dutch settlement in Banjermasin was suspended from 1669 till 1726 and Succadana had only an English settlement from 1630 (?) till 1699 when its king was restored to power with help from Banjermasin. So in Bort's time we may safely suppose a regular Bugis trade along the coast of Borneo and it seems quite probable that it found its turning point at Pahang, which would have taken more and more the place of Patani either from nautical reasons or on account of an advance of Siamese influence.

p. 138 .. 5

't sy int goede ofte quade does not need the addition of *mouson* as it is the old formula, "for better for worse."





MALACCA BUILDINGS.

By M. MACDONALD.

MALAY HOUSES near Fort St. John.

The snapshot (Pl. I.) I took in November '32 pretends to show a traditional type, the oldest still visible in the Settlement along the coast. I am inclined to consider this as the oldest Malay type, but no proof can be given before the regions where it is found are better defined. A description of its characteristic features seems necessary to that end, the *Papers on Malay Subjects in Life and Customs II* giving a domestic rather than an architectural description.

The fact that the house is accompanied by an out-house "at the back or downstream" seems only a natural consequence of tropical necessities, but technically the connecting of both parts is an awkward problem and the far-spread Bugis type has its kitchen in a protruding part of the main building.

There is the counterpart of the protruding porch or rather vestibule at the front, another striking feature of these Malay houses, but one often missing as it was of no use for the common people, whose visitors do not wait for admission. It seems that this feature has originated the error that this house resembled the Minangkabau type, but I need only remark that the protruding parts of the latter are always on the principal axis and never serve as an entrance.

These Sumatra houses have the entrance at the middle of the front and the model in the Raffles Museum (from Negri Sembilan?) shows that same idea which seems to us so normal... when we forget that in Europe it would be styled "palatial." And in fact an entrance under the eaves should be protected by a gable or at least gutters, both requiring a skill and upkeep above the common. Therefore the plan with steps in front (see Pl. II. and Swettenham's British Malaya) is an assimilation, not the original type.

But there is a natural tendency to change the direction of the entrance, as the front is taken by what is the side of the house in the Bugis type, or generally speaking the gables are at the side. Now in Europe we see this happening at the formation of towns. In Nias we find the squares closely surrounded by houses with exceptionally high and parallel ridges, but I hesitate to ascribe our type to the crowding of Malacca about 1500. There is a striking resemblance to another town, where the houses have the same position, but lack the vestibule: Palembang. And there I think we may find the general origin of this Malay custom: the house built on a raft, which means in one row, where the front-space could not be spared for sufficient air and light for side-galleries.

The amenities of the front-gallery for a trading people living in towns or along roads may well explain the change in direction while the old tradition of housebuilding still survives in the vestibule, which was a rational extension of the side-gallery of an agricultural people who would possess plenty of space. Also these would want the *kolong* under the house for stores and need a sufficient height to accommodate servants or followers there.

It seems important to note that the middle part of the house is always (only Minangkabau excepted) floored a step higher than the entrance-gallery be it in front or at the side. If the reason lay in the lower roof, the difference ought to be greater; when we look to etiquette, we understand that there is only a step between the owner and his suite or visitors, and we do not wonder there is the same graduation in the correct vestibule although that feature has nearly vanished nowadays. As the kitchen should not join the highest part, the Malay type has a second aisle at the back. This seems the most important difference from the Bugis house, where the one aisle serves both entrance and service. Perhaps this difference is associated with the position of women in these nations. If I remember rightly some Bugis houses have an aisle at the back too, but its floor is raised again and sometimes it does not rest on poles but is hung from the rafters. I would suggest that it is this mode of construction that is forbidden to commoners by the law against "flying pillars."

In addition to the vestibule, the gables resemble the Bugis style, being ventilated by a sort of great louvres. I wonder if the number thereof has the same heraldic meaning, 3 being a prerogative of chiefs, 5 of princes.

I had no opportunity to ascertain if the shingles, seen on a few houses were sawn or split; the latter might indicate Banjarese influence. Anyhow the absence of overhanging edges to the roof surface, so natural where *atap* or *ijuk* is the original decking material (Minangkabau and Ternate), suggests either bambu or shingles. I was struck by the use of corrugated iron for the part of the roof outside the gable, a proof of sound construction I had not met elsewhere.

The spongy limonite blocks for the steps are a clever invention. Alas! they are being replaced by neat concrete stairs by owners who do not know that the same rudimentary old loose-stone architecture exists also in the kampongs near the Dieng temples.

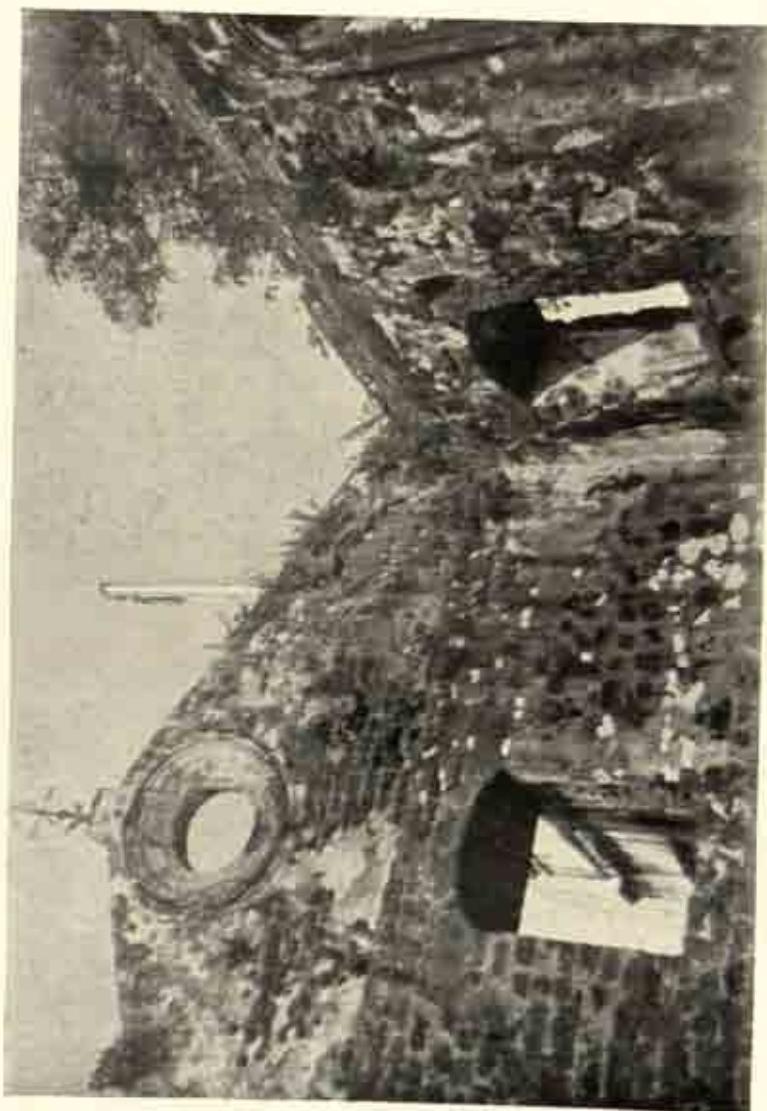
Another feature I found about to disappear is the lower board lining the front-gallery and distinctly showing its use as an (American) "sleeping-out-porch." On the contrary the long-drawn, low windows may regain their place in all walls now that they have become quite the fashion in modern architecture, where walls become as thin as the bambu matting from which this feature springs.



2



1



THE PORTUGUESE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL.

A.D. 1520? The vaulted part (choir and adjacent room) was built directly after the castle or together with it as a keep: only the entrances towards the castle being on the level of the rock while the south part was a tower on vaults (and filled-in ground?). The present doorway to the south was a window as plinth-mouldings prove (Pl. III (1)). The floor was on the level of the cross-wall supporting the pillar in the tower, namely, the choir's level when it was a powderhouse. (Town and Fort p. 39). Valentyn says a church was built from the stones of Malay tombs, which we may place on the top of the hill pretty safely. Mr. Hazel (*ib.* p. 22) asserts that d'Albuquerque built it as a church, but to my eye the military nature of the oldest part is suggested by the absence of any recesses and by the position of the tower away from the other one at the castle.

1550? The walls round the hill being completed, a permanent guard at the keep became superfluous and the building was turned into a chapel dedicated to St. Paul, perhaps by the earliest Jesuits who took that Apostle for their patron Saint. I reject the dedication to Our Lady of the Annunciation (Hazel *I.C.*) and think F. Coroado is right (*ib.* p. 49) that this dedication must apply to the chapel in the Governor's house: I find a proof in Schouten's enumeration of altars (*Utrechtsch Gen.* p. 294) where 16 are mentioned as dedicated to Our Lady but all of them under other appellations, whereas the Governor's chapel is not mentioned at all perhaps because it was invisible in the ruins.
cf. notes on
Stadthuys

Perhaps the hall, becoming a church, was enlarged by a chapel or niche, as the eastern wall still shows traces of an abutting wall and, in any case, the little window with special ventilation for the powder-magazine was built into a bigger arch. Also the map in the British Museum (Town and Fort) shows something like an apse, if we allow for the quaint way of turning about side views. It seems quite probable too that the floor was lowered to the present level, but only the western part, so as to allow the making of the necessary steps before the altars. The eastern part remaining on a level with the tower, was used as a vestry or perhaps as the Jesuits' lodgings upstairs, which necessitated the making of a separate entrance (Pl. III (1)).

1553

"On the 15th of August Father de Beira and Diego Pereira secretly exhumed the body" of St. Francis Xavier from the church of Our Lady of the Mount says F. Francois (*ib.* p. 39) and seems to infer that their only object was to put it in a beautiful coffin. Now I see no reason for secrecy if the body did not leave the church, but I do see a general reason in the excommunication by St. Francis Xavier of the Governor only a year before. That fact makes it improbable that the first burial had taken place in the central church of Malacca, and I believe "Our Lady of the Mount" at that time to have meant the church of Madre de Dios on Bukit China. The secret exhumation would have been for the transference of the body to St. Paul's within the city. The mistake about the popular name, Our Lady of the Mount, I should explain by that name having been given to the Governor's chapel, when it was thrown open to the public later.

1600?

The aisle, now roofless, was added to the chapel as the pilaster at the NW corner of the old part proves sufficiently. The height of the windowsills above the doors suggests a floor in this part. The form of most of these windows, square outside with a flat arch inside, may well have been chosen for closing them with shutters. The windows with semi-circular tops may have lighted a big hall (refectory) but these arches may also be an alteration; the west front had a slanting roof (Pl. IV) in its first form, as the lesser blocks in the gable show this to be an alteration too. The external mouldings (Pl. III (2)) point to a rather late period, though this extension must have preceded de Eredia's map of 1604 as the building is indicated there as "Amirando colleg. da Compa de Iesu" and if the Jesuits were (still) only occupying the tower, it would have been considered a church.

1620?

It was shown as a church in the map now in the British Museum which is later than de Eredia's, as the moat is connected on the east side and nearly all the buildings mentioned by Schouten are present. On this map the name is clearly "Sa Paulo," just what Schouten calls it in 1641. F. Corrado's theory that this name was given by the Dutch hardly needs refutation as such a course would have been absolutely contrary to Dutch Reformed canons. They would not





even have employed the name if it had not been in general use and therefore I conclude that the church is older than the extension by the "college."

1630?

The name was kept although no altar to St. Paul was left in 1641. It was replaced by one to St. Ignatius of Loyola, perhaps shortly after the canonisation of St. Francis Xavier, whose temporary tomb was probably so much venerated as to necessitate the enlarging of the chapel. So the west wall was broken up and the big arch put in, a fact proved by the difference in layers (*ib.* p. 39). The floor of the "college" disappeared except on the west side, where a chantry might well be kept. Although the windows were left untouched, those in the nave being rounded, the vaulted ceiling was taken through to the west wall, where the gable was added. This was higher than it is now as the circular window was visible from the inside (Plate III (1)).

From the bases of the big arch (Plate V (1)) we see that the level of the chapel was left unchanged (because the tomb was opened already?), which in itself is sufficient proof that the vaulted part was not built as a choir to a bigger church.

The "college" was transferred to a building on the north side, in friendly vicinity to the Governor and the whole "adorned by a garden" as Schouten relates (*Utr. Gen.* 294). Curiously enough this was the only part respected by later generations.

1641:

After the siege Schouten finds "church, tower and cloister of St. Paulo... damaged in many places" (U.G. 324). Still the tower was 100 feet high and he advises "to prepare the tower of St. Paulus to a fort of domination... the church... for divine service on principal holidays... the Jesuits' cloister for a school and library," this last suggesting a "college."

1645?

The last part of his advice was not followed, for on the map dated 1656 we find a hospital in the "college," a more urgent use, as "the Hospitaal del Rey was ruined and that of de Poveres... hardly to be repaired" (Schouten). But the home of the Jesuits was no more in the mediaeval style and seems to have stood only some 30 years, for Bort found the hospital in the north suburb in 1665.

1670

Bort's memorandum mentions "St. Paul's... with a tower" and proves that Schouten's advice about

high feasts was followed, for he commemoates on "19th January... a sermon in St. Paul" that being the date of the town's capture. Bort also tells us he fixed prices for tombs in St. Paul's in 1669 but that none had been sold in his time, up to 1678.

1713 When the list of tombs (cited by Bland) was made by de Bruyn, one was included dated 1673 (Bland Nr. 27) but this should not make us doubt Bort's accuracy. For quite a lot of stones dated before 1713 are missing in that list and neither bad preservation nor secretion under benches nor lack of heirs to claim the grave will explain the omission. So we may be assured the stone from 1673 was brought in after Bort's time, probably from the Misericordia which was already disused as a church in 1670 as Bort says the church at the foot of the hill was in a former living-house. The remains may have been reinterred too, which was not done, I think, with those of the Majordome of the convent of Madre de Dios whose stone certainly came from Bukit China (together with that of the Japanese bishop?); but only after the congregation had left St. Paul's for the new church.

1755 The list of coats of arms (Journal Vol. 34) was probably intended to give them their new places. That no important persons were buried in St. Paul's after 1736 would mean that shortly after that date the decision to build the new church was taken and the abandonment of the old foreseen, which might be a proof that the building (especially the tower?) was considered beyond repair.

From this list I reconstructed the interior of St. Paul's, but I confess the result to be very doubtful. Only one door is mentioned and this should be the one on the south side, for the western entrance (Pl. V (2)) is blocked. Also the Reformed congregation could do without it and the blasts of sea-wind. The present opening on the north side of the aisle was no entrance but a door to a mortuary chapel or vestry, while the one in the choir must have been reserved for the use of the "Commander and President" whose bench was at the East of the door, giving the congregation time to stand up when he walked in. Next to him sat the fiscal "near the wall of the choir" opposite these authorities sat the First Civil Company. The pulpit stood before the western wall flanked by the benches of the Consistory and of the Council Politic. As in many Dutch churches, the choir served

only for baptisms and marriages, the parties coming from the chamber of the consistory, which might well have been in the tower.

1760?

The present tower must have been erected after the abandonment, as otherwise the draught-fearing Dutch would certainly have used the base as a portal. It seems to have been a lighthouse from the beginning, probably replacing a light on the old tower, that had to be cut down to the present height. This work would not have been started in the last years of the Dutch East India Company, so that we date the coloured map reproduced in *Town and Fort*, which I believe to be unfinished: only the base of this tower is drawn as if it were yet in course of construction. The old tower is already put under one roof with the vaulted part of the church.

It is of little interest to follow the changes in the aisle, where tombs were raised or in the choir when it became a powder magazine. It is only to be regretted that when these curiosities were removed, nothing was recorded about them. For a better knowledge of this monument's history the facts about the graves and floors would have had more value than my conjectures.

I can only wish that my essay may induce others to look for more facts or better explanations.

THE STADTHUYS.

For a Dutchman the most important point about this building is its date, as it might prove to be the oldest Dutch building in the East. Batavia was founded some thirty years before the conquest of Malacca, but there is no building left from that period. The only important and well-preserved buildings from the middle of the XVIIth century (nearly the whole of the fort at Macassar) date from about 1670.

The style of the Stadthuys fits a date between 1641 and 1660. Parts of it rather suggest that Portuguese walls were kept by the Dutch; but it is dangerous to date these works after their style as most probably Malacca Portuguese workmen were employed, for instance, on the grand stairs, which have quite a Lusitanian air.

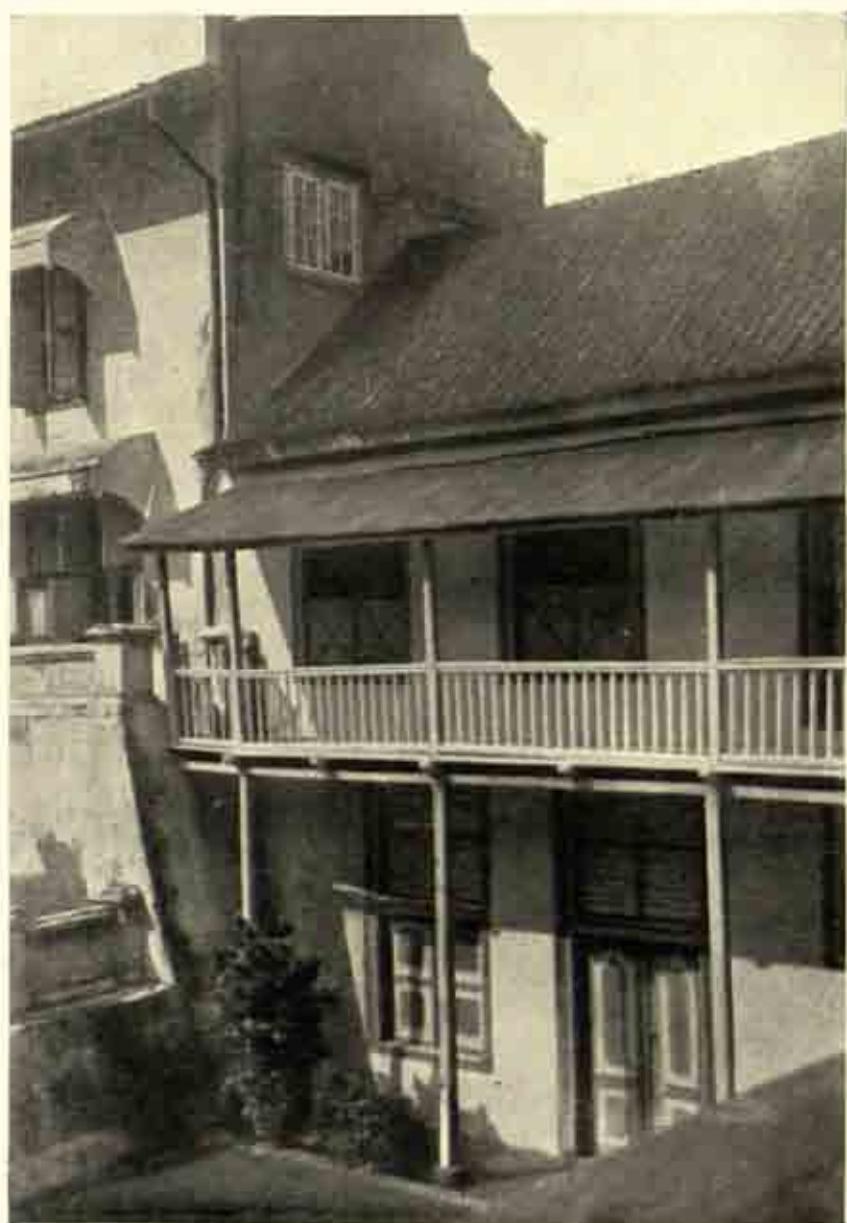
Still, the greater differences of period are clearly visible. Plate VI shows its period in the part joining the buildings on the terrace and at the street. The door-panels point to the XVIIth

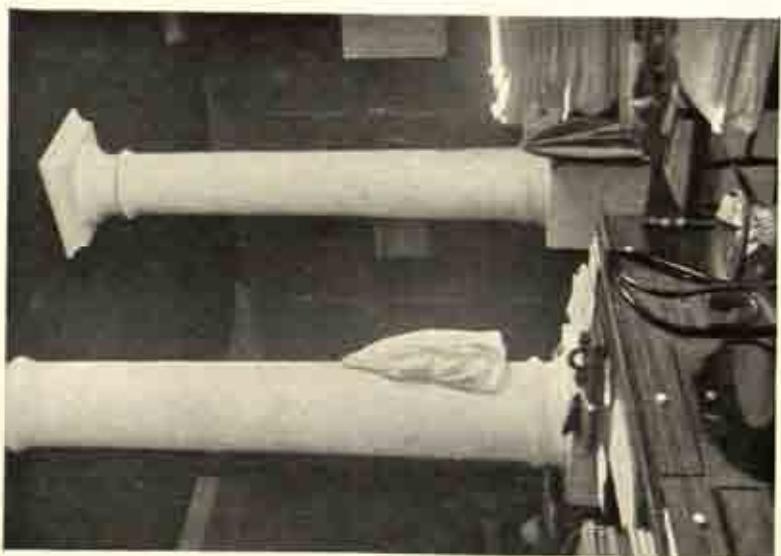
century; the division of the windows and the big post between symmetrical doors in the passage (Plate VII (1)) somehow suggest the first half. The enlargement of the gallery at the back of the principal block is clearly modern; Plate VII (2) shows the pediments, most improper in the middle of a room but suggesting a raised floor, perhaps temporary for law-courts. One may hope that the time will come when this part shall be restored so as to give space to the courtyard and light to the hall.

Keeping in mind that the western aisle did not exist, we may consult Governor Bort's Memorandum (Journal 1927, p. 47) to see if the other parts existed before his time (1670). He did not have any important work done, or he would certainly have told us. He does not mention a "Stadthuys," only separate houses for Secretariat and Pay-office, while he also speaks of a Council-chamber. This last seems the right place for public functions, and he tells us (p. 15) "the taxes are... farmed out... in the Governor's house"; so I place the Council-chamber there too. This Governor's house must have been very near the spot in question, as "the soldiers... exercised... within the fort on the square in front of the Governor's house" and the only other square was behind St. Anthony's graveyard, a most improper place.

Already Schouten, in his advice after the conquest in 1641, says that the council could sit in the Governor's house. But when he says that "the dilapidated house should be rebuilt," he probably meant the building on the terrace, marked "palacio de Go" in Eredia's map. Perhaps this was the site for some time, but the map of 1656 already shows a big but vague rectangle for the Stadthuys, so I suppose the plan was fixed but building went on slowly. Still, the Governor might have moved already to the larger building on the square (pay-office and stores along the street) and the house on the terrace been used for a Secretariat. Bort ordered 8000 glazed tiles for the leaky roof of his house. If these were common Dutch tiles the surface of the house must have been about 2300 square feet.

Every visitor to the place will be struck by the stairs in the courtyard seemingly leading nowhere. In my notes on St. Paul's, I give reasons for supposing that the Portuguese Governor had a chapel attached to his house. If this were to the east, giving His Excellency a state entrance, a side door might be on the north, reached by the steps, a setting for processions dear to the southern European, and a good reason for the supposed popular name of Our Lady of the Mount. It is quite probable that this venerated chapel was demolished by the Dutch, but other proofs of an unexpected leniency towards the Roman Church make it possible that they refrained from putting another building on the sacred spot. If there were an opportunity, it would seem worth





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while to look for foundations near the passage that now form such a queer background to the terrace.

I should draw attention to another spot, where excavations seem more likely to occur and offer an opportunity to settle many questions about Malacca's history: the space to the west of the Stadthuys. It is there I put the "first Portuguese keep" although "Town and Fort" says the Stadthuys stands on its ruins.

As to architectural features, I have already mentioned windows and doors. Of these last those in the Police-court stand apart, looking quite out of scale. Could they have come from an older building or from a ship? It would be interesting to know of what sort of wood they are made; I would not wonder if it were oak. More typical are the uniform gables, reminding one of Dutch architecture at the Cape. It is an attractive idea that this likeness originates in the succession of that colony's founder to the command of Malacca, but I think it more likely that the gables belong to the period when the western aisle was linked up, and that a near parallel exists in the gables of the Batavia archives, built about 1760. I may finish with the steps at the front, obviously a copy of the "bordes" at the Batavia—"Government," the setting of many a historical incident. We are not so well informed about Malacca, but I fancy that it was there that the Dutch took definite leave of the administration of Malacca and its Straits, believing, as the treaty says, in "the good relation that ever ought to exist between them."

CHRIST CHURCH.

Plate VIII (1) was taken to show the mouldings of the walls, particularly at the base. Their arrangement is well-known in Holland and reminded me directly of the Town Hall (now Palace) at Amsterdam and the New Church at Haarlem, both exactly a century older. But in those buildings the big quarter-hollow comes above a plinth at least 2 feet high; so it would seem that the street-level at Malacca must have been raised, a fact easy to verify in case of repairs or underground work. It would be worth while to try and restore the old level at least on the side of the Post Office.

Far more important seems the restoration of the original appearance by a return to whitewash. I may include here the Stadt-house, where I suppose the idea of staining these buildings a dark red started. Perhaps a coloured picture-postcard of some brick building in Holland reached Malacca and made somebody think that Dutch buildings are coated red, but this is never the case. Besides these buildings are conceived in the colonial style and the Stadthuis is related to South Africa by van Riebeeck. The

charm of old South African buildings lies for a good part in the contrast between the whitewash, the red tiles and green foliage, and the olive green paint of windows and doors.

Although important in the exterior, the cutting down and ornamentation of the windows strike one even more in the interior, where no trace is left of the religious impression a Dutch church of that period used to make. Instead of seclusion from the street and a subtle inducement to lift eyes and heart, there is merely a room with chairs comfortably lighted and a gloomy ceiling. It is curious that the change to a form of worship, considered to be more addicted to symbolism, has destroyed a religious atmosphere that must have influenced some four generations.

From an aesthetic point of view the interior lacks all balance of parts as the reredos is absolutely insufficient to dominate the gallery and one can only appreciate by the forlorn rings in the blank Eastern wall how well the pulpit with its canopy was designed for that purpose. But, perhaps, some future "presentation" may put the rings to life again: I fancy already a copy from Goya, as the place of honour needs a most striking feature.

ST. JOHN'S FORT.

Although Plate VIII (2) of the interior is not clear enough to show the different size of the blocks used for the shed at the left as compared with those in the ramparts, it gives an idea of the narrow space behind the gun terrace. The variation in the blocks and the narrowness of this space suggest that the blind wall was added later and that the fort was nearly circular in its original state, but lost one section in a landslide, which occurred at the very steep incline to the west.

My hope of finding the facts in the Batavia archives was not fulfilled, although a good plan of the fort on Bukit China is there, dated 1786. I found only mention of a fort in 1791 on the "Vriesche Berg" 400 rods (73 chains) to the east of the castle "to oppose landing on the Southern beach" and armed with 8 cannon of 6 lbs. After all this intention is the most important fact, clearly contradicting the supposition in "Town and Fort" that the Dutch feared only land-attacks at that time.

As to the date of the ramparts, I can only say that an order from Batavia, if given at all, must have come between 1760 and 1778 as those years are missing in the XVIIIth century. And the style of the flattened arch over the entrance seems to point only to that century. Still we may be sure that Schouten's advice to strengthen by a redoubt "the Red island...as well as the mountains China and St. Juan" was followed in some way. Elsewhere palissades may have sufficed, but here use will have been





made of the ruins of the hermitage of St. Juan Baptista and of the "military camp." This would give the place additional historical interest as this camp probably was the headquarters of the "Johorites" in the siege of 1641.

My suggestion that the place was garrisoned all the time after that, would make it the "fortlet behind the Company's garden."

But I must leave to others the reconstruction of the map of estates surrounding Malacca. Or does such a map exist? I recommend comparison with the Batavia-estates as it struck me that the semi-feudal system has left a similar mark on the population. At least I was struck by a likeness in the kampongs and by the urbanity of the natives, that might well be subconscious force driving their youth to the bigger cities.

THE PORTUGUESE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL.

By FATHER CARDON.

1. Mr. Macdonald's idea that the choir and sacristy, surmounted by a tower, are the oldest part of the church is erroneous: the military style was due to the strategic importance of the hill for a town so often besieged.

2. Nor was it the Jesuits who gave it the name St. Paul's Church (see above p. 20).

3. Nor did Father Coroado say that this dedication to the Annunciation "must apply to the Chapel in the Governor's house"; what he wrote was "among the most notable ruins still extant is that of the Chapel of the Governor which is still called the Chapel of Our Lady of the Mount," etc.

4. Mr. Macdonald has overlooked the fact that in January 1512, before d'Albuquerque departed, the castle A FAMOSA and the Church of the Annunciation (as well as a Hospital) had been completed: their sites are clearly shown by Castanheda.

5. Though Mr. Macdonald discerns in the nave of Our Lady of the Mount only a refectory, it has all the characteristics of a Catholic church, the windows high up the walls and the gable end with the great door framed between two windows of the same style and surmounted by a circular window that takes the place of a rose window. Old churches of the period in Morocco are of the same architectural style.

6. Mr. Macdonald's theory that the choir formed all the original chapel is refuted by the facts that d'Albuquerque left at Malacca a garrison of at least 100 men as well as the Governor and civil and military officers and that St. Xavier preached here to assemblies of children and adults: it cannot have been enlarged later in 1600.

7. The Jesuits never lived in the tower, which was completed only in 1590. From 1568 they had a house described by Costa as "a port of call for those of our Society who are going to the Moluccas, Japan and China." Seven years later (25 December 1575) the Visitor Valignano wrote to the General of the Society:—"the Society has in Malacca a little house with five rooms beside the workroom"—or class-room, probably, for the students at St. Paul's College, which St. Francis Xavier opened in 1548. The occupation of the tower by Jesuits would no more make the building a church than eight or ten blackbirds make a tower a church-steeple.

8. If Eredia in his map of the fortress published in the 1613 edition of his *Declaracion* notes *Amirundo Collegio da Compa. de Jesus*, that lends no support to the theory of Mr. Macdonald. In his list of five Malacca churches Eredia gives "the Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation in the College of the Company of Jesus at the top of the Hill"—and not in the Governor's quarters, for

de Resende records "the captain's family lives in houses on a level with the second storey of the tower" (JRASSB, LX, p. 4).

9. Father Coroado did not say it was the Dutch who named the building St. Paul's Church; he writes "the Dutch Ministers pursued their religious life in Nostra Senora de Monte Chapel, though its name was changed to the Chapel of St. Paul."

10. Mr. Macdonald opines that St. Francis Xavier was in 1533 buried in the Franciscan church of Madre Dios at Bukit China. But that church was not built until 1581!

11. Father Francois does not say that St. Francis Xavier was exhumed only because it was desired to place his body in a magnificent coffin, but that "on 15 August Fr. de Beira and Diego Pereira secretly exhumed the body and placed him in a beautiful coffin." In their life of the Saint, written about 1650, Bartoli and Mafei give the reason for this secrecy: "Beira had been most attached to Xavier and felt anxious once more to behold his loved remains; accordingly one night, he, James Pereira and a few others secretly disinterred the body.... The piety of the spectators could not bear the idea of reconsigning such a treasure to the bare ground; Pereira therefore ordered a handsome coffin to be lined with magnificent Chinese damask satin, in which the sacred body, enveloped in a brocade coverlet was deposited,—the whole being placed in respectable security until means could be found TO CONVEY IT TO GOA, MALACCA BEING EVIDENTLY UNWORTHY OF SUCH A TREASURE." I quote from the English translation published by the C. N. T. Institute Press, Vepry, Madras.

12. It would be interesting to hear the authority for Mr. Macdonald's statements that shortly after the canonisation of St. Francis Xavier in 1622 an altar to St. Ignatius de Loyola replaced one to St. Paul and that Malacca's ramparts were finished about 1550.

13. If in 1630 "the floor of the college," i.e. of the nave, "disappeared except on the west side" i.e. in the choir and the sacristy, why did the architect shape the base of the pillars that support the arch of the choir? The big stones would have done equally well as one would not have seen them buried in the ground. The floor of the nave is as it was in 1590; and in 1930 Major Bone only removed the foundations made by the Dutch for their cannons. In 1925 Mr. A. C. Baker and Father Francois got permission to free the sanctuary and the room under the tower of accumulated rubbish and discovered that the floor level was that of the ancient church. Diggings in various spots corroborated this and excavations by Major E. C. Bone, Superintendent of Surveys, in 1930 placed it beyond all doubt. In 1931 the Malacca Historical Society decided to pave the church.

THE CHURCH OF ST. PAUL, MALACCA.

By THE REV. FATHER SCHURHAMMER, S.J.

The Church named NOSSA SENHORA DO MONTE was dedicated to Our Lady of the Annunciation (Annunciação). This Church was often referred to as the Church of the Jesuits (or the Church of the Paulists, as the Jesuits were called from their College of St. Paul in Goa), and later the Dutch called it St. Paul's Church. In earlier manuscripts it is called the Chapel of the MADRE DE DEUS. (But one must not confuse it with the Convent and Church of the Madre de Deus). It was built by Afonso de Albuquerque as also the fortress. (*Commentaries do Grande A. de Albuquerque*, Lisbon, 1774, III, 155).

These two buildings served not only as a chapel but as a landmark for navigators. As to the date of the building of this church there seems to be nothing definite. The following excerpts from various sources throw light on this subject.

As far back as 1512, Albuquerque asks the King for a *retable* for the Church of the Annunciation, (*Cartas de Albuquerque*, Lisbon, 1884, t. I, p. 53). The parish Church, Nossa Senhora de Assumpção was probably already built by 1515, because it was this year that the first parish Priest Afonso Martins arrived. (Letter of Martins to the King, Cochin, 1712. 1514, *Corpo Chron.* 1.17.22; Frei Domingos de Souza, O. Pr., to the King, Goa, 22.12.1514; *ibid.* 1.17.30. National Archives, Lisbon).

Further evidence may be adduced for its antiquity. The Church Nossa Senhora do Monte was given to the Society of Jesus by Albuquerque, Bishop of Goa, between the years 1548 and 1549. In June 1549, the Jesuits had already occupied the Church. Xavier's Instructions for Bravo, dated 23.6.1549, have the following note: "These Instructions were given to me by the Blessed Fr. M. Francis, eve of St. John's feast, at night in the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte where he used to sleep before he went to Japan." Malacca 1549 (*Mon. Xav.*, I, 887). In 1548 Xavier founded the residence of the Jesuits by sending Fr. Peres and Br. Olivera; hence we may conclude that this was the occasion when the church was probably given him. In 1552 Xavier writes to Peres from Sancian: "The church of Nossa Senhora and the College, in case it is ours (i.e. the College), and all that belongs to the Society of Jesus, you will hand over to Fr. Vicente Viegas, together with a copy of the donation of the church of Nossa Senhora, which the Bishop gave to the Society." (*Mon. Xav.*, I, 786).

Even in 1566 this church was "highly venerated because it is very ancient. It is a very little chapel and is falling into ruins, little by little. Therefore we ought to build a new one. When Fr. Christovão da Costa was Rector, we began the repairs, which

we are even now continuing." (Letter of Fr. Lourenco Perez to Fr. General, Malacca, 2.12.1566; Goa, 11, 296). This and the following letters are in the possession of the Society of Jesus. By 1567, the new church had not been finished. The same document says: "It will be 110 palmos long, 46 broad and 39.5 high (*id.* 1511, 1567, Goa 11 368; 1 palmo = 0.22 metre).

On the 2nd Jan. 1569, Fr. Christovão da Costa writes to the General, from Malacca, that the church was roofed "this year," i.e. 1568. "It is not only very large but also very beautiful; both the building and its situation, for it is in the midst of the town and in the highest place from which one can see a great part of the sea, and the land. Our house is a port of call for those of our Society who are going to the Moluccas, Japan and China." (Briefe aus ostindien, Augsburg, 1795, II 309-10).

25.12.1575.—Valignano, the Visitator, writes to the General from Goa: "The Society has in Malacca a little house with 3 rooms besides the workroom." (Japs. 7, 305). This letter was probably written in 1574, as it was the custom to count the new year from December of the precedent year.

27.11.1577.—Laurenco Mexia, the companion of Valignano, writes to the General, Malacca: "It is impossible to build here a big College. Stone, lime, workmen and the materials are all wanting . . . Up to the present we have had only 3 big rooms for the community and for guests who might call at the College; but they are cutting wood in the jungle to enlarge the same." (Goa, 12, 391).

29.11.1578.—Matheus Lopes writes from Macao: "This year, 1578, Valignano built a beautiful building able to accommodate 20 persons" (in Malacca). Goa, 38, 165.

22.11.1578.—Francisco de Chaves writes to the General, from Malacca: "The College has been rebuilt almost entirely from its foundations. It was finished within the eight months that Valignano was here. It is one of the best in India, due regard being had to the circumstances. It is a wing with 8 rooms, 4 on either side with a corridor running right through. Another corridor, with two large rooms cuts it in the middle. On one side there is a verandah which commands a pretty view of the sea and land. There is moreover a porter's lodge (*partaria*) with a room for hearing the confessions of men. Behind the entrance, there is a big hall with 2 rooms, all on the upper floor (*sobradada*) and below there are the pantry, refectory, linen-room, &c." It was almost completed when Valignano left. (Goa, 12, 418).

In 1579, Valignano writes in his SUMMARY OF THE PROVINCE OF GOA: "We have in Malacca a small college which was built last year. It comprises 10 rooms and a corridor. A very beautiful

spacious Church without a tower, the chancel of which has not been finished while the sacristy is only half-done." (Goa, ?)

On the third December, Gomes Vaz writes to Fr. General, from Malacca—: "Our old house was too inconvenient.... During the three months that the Visitator was here, in spite of lack of workmen and materials, he built one of the best Colleges in the whole of India.... It has 8 rooms—a verandah which command a fine view of the sea and land. As the Visitator had to leave for China, he could not finish it. But this year it has been completed and what is remarkable, it is of stone." (Goa, 13, 15).

On the 29th June 1585, Fulvio Gregorio wrote to Ludovico Masselli, from Malacca: "The College is built on the highest point of the Town. It has two verandahs (*LOGGIE*) and has a fine view of the whole town, sea, islands, rivers, forests and gardens." (Goa, 13, 270).

In 1590, Bishop Martinez writes in his annual letter: "In Malacca, the Church and tower have been finished." (Goa, 47, 348).

In 1598, Christovão da Veiga writes to Fr. General, from Malacca, dated April 30th—: "The wood here does not last longer than ten years; therefore continual repairs are necessary.... On account of the continual repairs, we need 50 slaves and a Brother to look after them." (Goa, 14, 361).

In 1641, the Dutch conquered the town and used the Jesuit Church for their own protestant Services. Of this, on December 27th, 1730. Cajetan Lopez wrote to Fr. General, from Lisbon: "Of our Church and College, there is hardly anything left but the pillars.... Where our College formerly stood, there is at present a Dutch fortress. On the highest point there is a place for a flagstaff." (Japs. 1289).

From all this we gather that the actual Church of the Mount was begun about 1565 under Fr. Christovão da Costa who was Rector from 1561, and it must have been completed in 1590.

It stands on the site of the first chapel built in 1511 by Albuquerque. In this chapel, St. Francis used to preach and pray, and even snatch a little sleep at night; and in 1553 it was there that he was temporarily buried. The second (*i.e.* the actual) church had, after 1590, a tower which served, as was the custom in those days, the double purpose of a clock-tower and also a watch-tower. In this second church (as in the first) persons of distinction were buried: the Mordome Concalves (1568), D. Miguel de Castro Capitão de Malacca (about 1577), the Jesuit Bishop of Japan, Pero Martinez (? 1598), and Antonio Pinto de Fonseca, Capitão General do Mar e Terra a nas partes do Sul (1635), were all buried here.

The Jesuit Martyr "buried in the church" is Fr. Theodore Mantels, a Belgian Jesuit who arrived in Japan in 1586 and was there poisoned by the Lord of Hirado *in odium fidei*; in consequence of which he lingered on for some time and died in Malacca (1593).

It is interesting to note that the church occupied (as did the first one built by Albuquerque) the site of the palace of the Mahometan King of Malacca.

Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who lived in India till 1541, writes in his *HISTÓRIA DO DESCOBRIMENTO E CONQUISTA DA ÍNDIA PELOS PORTUGUESES* (Coimbra, 1924 ff.): "The palace of the King was on a hill" (I, 2, Ch. 112, p. 458). In this southern part of the town was also the great Mosque, near the bridge (*ibid.*) "The Governor built the fortress where the Mosque was" (I, 2, C. 60, p. 153). "The King fled to the jungle that night, with his treasures. When the Governor (Albuquerque) heard of it the following morning, he hurried there at once with all speed, sending before him his captains with their men. But when they ascended the hill where the King used to dwell, they saw that they had a great lead (*sic*) that they abandoned all hope of reaching him.... and they were so angry that the King had taken with him all his treasures that they avenged themselves by burning the residence of the King, of the Prince and of those of the mandarins. The Governor was very sorry for this wanton act, and especially when he knew what treasures the Palace contained; he gave orders to put out the fire, but it was too late as the building was in ashes." (L, p. 132).

The underground caves of the actual church may, in part, be ruins of the royal Palace: for the houses in Malacca had cellars under ground, according to Gaspar Correa who had been in the service of Albuquerque—: "These goods (of the Merchants of Malacca) were in houses which they built half buried in the ground, the upper part being cemented as protection against fires." (*LENDAS DA ÍNDIA*, Lisboa, 1860, II, 247).

The room behind the chancel must have been the vestry. The Governor (the Capitão of Malacca) used to live in the Fortress, not on the hill. The buildings adjoining the chapel are therefore part of the old sacristy or of the Dutch Fort on the hill. (Cf. the letter 1730).

The Fort St. John is not mentioned in any of the books or MSS. accessible to me. My Portuguese sources do not mention it.

HISTORY OF KELANTAN. I.

By ANKER RENTSE.

Kelantan, the most northern Malay state on the East coast of Malaya under British Protection, is situated between latitudes $4^{\circ} 35$ and $6^{\circ} .15$ north and between longitudes $101^{\circ} .22$ and $102^{\circ} .33$ east. Towards the west the Perak boundary is defined by a range of jungleclad mountains up to 6500 feet high, making a barrier which prevented immigration from this side in ancient times. To the south the Pahang boundary runs along another range of mountains, the highest point of which is Gunong Tahan (7186 feet), the loftiest summit in Malaya. Through passes in this range Kelantan connects with Pahang and Malacca, in former days along narrow junglepaths, now-a-days by the newly opened East Coast Railway line. Towards the East a range of mountains divides Kelantan from Trengganu; the jungle country here not being populated, intercourse with Trengganu took place along the coast. To the north-west the Golok river forms the boundary with Patani, formerly an important Malay kingdom; but weakened by perpetual Siamese invasions now only a province under Siam, to the north Kelantan is open to the China Sea. The country is thus rather isolated landwards from the rest of the Peninsula, and the events in history in those parts left Kelantan more or less unconcerned, except for a few incidents. Kelantan passed through history alongside with its neighbours to the northwest, Patani, Rahman, Sai and Legeh, and with Trengganu towards the east, at times with Patani under the Siamese yoke. It is almost impossible to write an account of Kelantan's history without touching on that of Patani. The two countries have been closely connected through centuries, at times divided into smaller kingdoms, whose ruling families, through local wars, attained the supreme power for a period.

The early history of Kelantan is still unknown and very few records are available. Local folklore has tales almost identical with those from the south of the Peninsula. Local names such as Batu Seladang, Batu Kijang, etc., remind one of the tales of Sang Kelumbai ('To' Gedambai), giants infesting the country. The Naga (serpent) of ancient fame is connected with floods. The Hantu Belian, in the shape of a tiger, roams the forests; and in the incantations of the medicineman ('To' Bomor) we hear of Awang Hitam, the mysterious black youth connected with the ghosts of the forest, possibly an aborigine. The famous princess of the bamboo stem, Tuan Putri Sadong, who has taken up her abode, "dead or alive, nobody knows," on Gunong Sitong and Gunong Ayam, is said to have been the Queen of the Sakai. Was Kelantan a Sakai country in ancient times? Later on we shall see, that there may be some foundation of truth in the folktales

of old. Perhaps the investigation being now done by Mr. Noone into the mountain Sakai on the Perak-Kelantan border (by Mr. Wilkinson called the Northern Sakai) an interesting type not unlike the Malay, different from the ordinary Sakai, but superior to the ordinary Malay of the interior, may cast new light on this question.

Kelantan was probably in existence before Malacca became important. The earliest trade routes from Europe, Arabia and India went, after rounding the island of Tumasik (the present Singapore), up along the east coast of the Malay Peninsula to Kelantan and Legeh (Patani), from there they crossed the Gulf of Siam towards Cambodia, and went further on along the coast northwards to China. Marco Polo followed this route in A.D. 1292. Likewise the Chinese crossed the Gulf from Cambodia towards Kelantan some 2000 years ago (8).

The following is an extract from "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," Vol. I, pp. 105-6, containing some of Gerini's wildest etymological guesses:

"Kölli, a town. This is Kelantan, more correctly spelled Kalantan. Its probable ancient name, Kölli, appears to have been introduced from Northern India, where a city called Koli (from the Koli or jujube tree, it is said) is known to have existed near Kapilavastu, and reputed to have been the birthplace of Mäyä, the mother of Buddha. The present name (Kelantan) of both the district and its chief city presumably was formed by affixing to the word Koli, or to one of its dialectical forms Kolom, Kolam, either the term *thāna* (or *tanah* in Malay), meaning place, country, or the particle *anta*, *antam* (limit, boundary), thus obtaining the compounds Kolamtänah, Kolantam, etc., which by vulgar parlance soon became modified into Kelantan and Kalantan. The district so named is, no doubt, the country of Ko-lo or Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo, described in the annals of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) and in Ma Tuan-lin (Groeneveldt's paper in "Essays relating to Indo-China, Second Series," Vol. I, pp. 241-2, and vol. II, p. 414) as lying to the southeast of both P'an-p'an (SW. Siam) and Wan-tan (Bändön). The words Kolo Fu-sha-lo may represent either Koli-badara, Koli-bhadra, or Kola-bazar. In the first reading Koli and badara are respectively, the Pāli and Sanskrit designations for the jujube tree, the Siamese name of which is, however, Phusa (= Budrā), evidently from a Prākrt or other Indian vernacular from Budara of Busar, plainly represented in the Chinese transcript Fu-sha-lo. In the event of this surmise proving correct, our identification of Ptolemy's Kölli with the Ko-lo of Chinese writers would receive a complete confirmation. That Ko-lo was a very ancient place appears from Ma Tuan-lin's (loc. cit.) statement that it was heard of by his countrymen since the time of the Han dynasty (B.C. 206 to A.D. 221).

"There is also frequent mention in Ma Tuan-lin and other Chinese writers of a seaport called Ku-lo, which appears to have been much visited by Chinese traders during the early times of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 960-1127). But though the location of this part was evidently on the Malay Peninsula, it is doubtful whether it was the same place as the ancient Koli or Ko-lo and the present Kelantan.

"Kelantan is, no doubt, a very ancient foundation, early referred to in Malay annals as a powerful kingdom, while its abundance in natural resources and mineral wealth places it in a prominent position among the Malay States. Hence it must have been from a very ancient period one of the principal resorts of the trade on this coast."

We also hear about a country called by the Chinese Ho-lo-tan or Kou-lo-tan, "a state mentioned early in the seventh century as lying to the south of Chih-t'u (Sukho-thai, Siam)"; but it appears to be doubtful whether this refers to Kelantan or not (p. 469) (8). The sea is mentioned as lying to the North of the country (p. 760) (8). This, however, applies very well to Kelantan.

As to the origin of the name Kelantan, the Malay can compete with Gerini for fantastic derivations. In his annual report for 1931, the then British Adviser, Kelantan, Mr. A. S. Haynes, gave the following bit of Kelantan folk-lore:—"The name Kelantan is derived from the two Malay words *Gelam Hutan* a species of swampy jungle (*Malaleuca Leucodendron*), which originally covered much of the coastal area!"

A third explanation is given below in the folktale as told by Tengku Khalid.

There is little doubt that it is a Sakai or Malay honorific on the lines of high Javanese or *Krama* forms: examples in Javanese are *kinten* for *kira*, *seganten* for *segara*, in Malay *kuantan* for *kuala*, *antan* for *alu*, in Sakai *onjing* for *asu*, *scranggil* for *scrigala* (Winstedt's Malay Grammar, Oxford 1927, p. 21).

On a map of Ptolemy's Geography of Malaya (8) is shown the Libih River (Lebir River), by him called Attaba River. Its source is a mountain called M. Batu Atap (the stone-thatched roof); on the other side of this mountain are shown the headwaters of the Tembeling River in Pahang. Was the ancient name of Gunong Tahan Gunong Batu Atap? Was the name Attaba River derived from Atap (8)? Was the Lebir River known by traders up to its source in ancient times (a. 150 A.D.); or was it perhaps the Galas River? We must leave such speculations to Gerini. It is easy to imagine, that the traders worked up the rivers in search of minerals, gold, tin and iron: to the present day there

are traces in the jungle of ancient mining on the Sokor River. The old settlement of Chinese at Pulai is probably of a much later date but it seems certain that it is very old. The type of plough used by the Chinese there for their rice cultivation is said to be different from those used in China today, and is different from the Malay type. Pulai has its own chief, called Capitan China; the language is a Chinese dialect, and many of the inhabitants do not know the Malay language. This indicates that these Chinese have been living an isolated life, growing padi and excavating for gold, which is found in isolated patches in this valley.

In 1225 A.D. the great Malay-Buddhist kingdom, Palembang of Sumatra, claimed suzerainty over Kelantan (1): the Chinese Chao Ju Kua, records that Kedah, Trengganu, Pahang and Kelantan were all subject to Palembang (9). A Javanese poem, *Nagarakretagama*, composed 1365 A.D., relates that Kelantan was subject to Majapahit, an influence surviving in a few rare armlets of local type but Majapahit design, in dialect, in the Panji *wawang*, in the ritual for cleansing the country, in the homage paid to Hanoman when boys are carried before circumcision in procession in a huge Geroda. In the fifteenth century Chinese chroniclers record that Kelantan was ruled by a Maharaja, and that in 1411 Maharaja K'u-ma-r (?) Kumara sent an embassy to China. The *Malay Annals* inform us how the last Sultan of Malacca (1488-1511 A.D.) Mahmud Shah, conquered Kelantan, and carried away three daughters of its ruler, Sultan Iskandar Shah, a descendant of Raja Chulan. These daughters were married to princes of the Malacca dynasty. One Kelantan princess, Mengindra Putri, became the consort of Sultan Mahmud of Pahang (1477-1500 A.D.) (JRASMB. X, I, p. 49).

After the downfall of Malacca (1511 A.D.) the Portuguese tried to dominate Malaya. In 1523 they burnt Patani (3).

About 1580 A.D., Raja Hussain became Sultan of Kelantan (*Sejarah Melayu*). He was a son of Raja Omar of Pahang, and a grandson of Raja Ahmad of Trengganu.—Raja Omar became Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jallil Shah II of Johore (died 1597). The fate of Raja Hussain of Kelantan is unknown; his power may have vanished when Siam in 1603 A.D. conquered Patani (3).

According to Newbold (3) the *Sejarah Melayu* tell, that "Patani was conquered at an early period by Chaw Sri Bangsa, a son of the King of Siam, who afterwards embraced Mohammedanism and assumed the name of Sultan Ahmad Shah, obtained privileges of the Naubat from the King of Malacca, of which kingdom Patani became, in some degree, a dependency." Further Newbold writes, "The author of a MS. history of Patani in the Malayan language, in my possession, ascribes the founding of Patani, to a grandson of Piatu Karub Maha Chan, Raja of Kota

Malikei*, named Wirin Piatu Nakapa Sulma. He was converted to Islam, and reigned under the title of Sultan Ismail Shah. Ten Sultans and a Sultana of this dynasty, are mentioned; after whom commenced the Kelantan dynasty, with Sultan Bakal."

The following are the members of the two dynasties mentioned by Newbold. It would appear that they are not a tree but merely a succession of rulers:

"*Patani Sovereigns*:"—

Rajah Kurub Maha Chan.

Piatu Antara.

Piatu Nakapa, or Sultan Ismail Shah, the first Mohammedan Sovereign.

Muzaffar Shah.†

Mansur Shah.†

Patek Siam.

Bahadur.

Rajah Ijo.

Rajah Iju.

Paduka Shah Alam.

Kuning or Perachu—female sovereign.

Kelantan Dynasty:"—

Bakal.

Amas Kelantan.

Amas Jayam.

Dawi Perachu—female sovereign.

Paduka Shah Alam.

Laksamana.

Baginda.

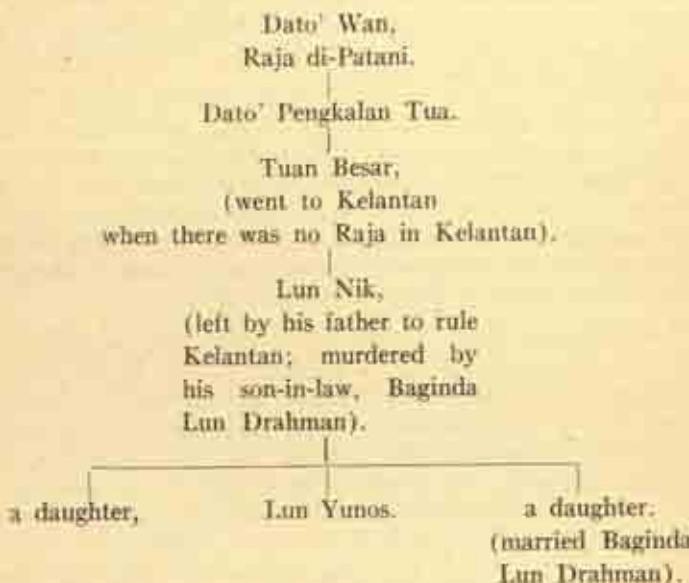
Along Yunus, or Yang di-pertuan."

The last mentioned ruler of Patani is possibly identical with Nam Chayam (or Nang Chayang), who in 1644 A.D. married Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah III of Johore. At least one of the titles of the rulers mentioned indicates suzerainty to Siam (Patek Siam).

As regards the Kelantan dynasty Sir H. Marriott has shown, from an old Trengganu MS. the ancestors of Long Yunus (Along Yunos; Lun, Long, Lung, derived from Siamese, Luang; Long, on

* Kota Maliki was the ancient name, according to local tradition, of the town at the mouth of the Patani River. Maliki = Mahicas (Tamil), Palace. † Were these the Malacca rulers from 1445—1477?

occasions, is used too as a dialectical contraction of Sūlong). This *salsilah* (JRASSB., No. 72, 1916) is as follows:—



This tree agrees with one in my possession, worked out by the Dato' Perdana Mantri Paduka Raja of Kelantan. But this latter tree goes one generation further back to the father of Dato' Wan, Raja Andik Ali (Pakih Ali), a Bugis prince who married Wan Teja, daughter of a Laksimana at Kota Tinggi, Johore.

The old Kelantan folktales, passed from mouth to mouth, down from one generation to another, are founded on tradition and are worthy of record, as they may contain points of interest for future investigators. The following is related by Tengku Khalid bin Tengku Bendahara, Kelantan.

"The ancestor of the present royal family of Kelantan came from across-the-sea. A son of a Raja, he went abroad seeking adventure. A storm wrecked his ship, and everybody was drowned except the young Raja, who was saved by an *ikan ka-kachang* (*ikan alu-alu*). This fish grows to a considerable size and is sold on the local market, but its flesh is *pantang* (tabu) for the royal family of Kelantan, in memory of its services to their ancestor. The fish brought the young raja ashore at a cape, where the inhabitants of the country were assembled in order to elect a new ruler. It was the custom of old, that when a ruler died without issue, a sacred elephant was brought to select his successor from among the assembled subjects of the country. Old or young, rich

or poor, the one touched by the elephant would be appointed as the future king. When the elephant was brought, it went down to the shore and lifted up the young raja from "over-the-sea." he was appointed ruler, with the title Raja di-Patai'ni! *Patai'ni* in local dialect means, "this coast (*pantai ini*)". So the name of the country, Patani, was created!

Newbold (3) gives another folk origin for the name Patani: "The town was named Patani from the circumstance of its founder, Piatu, having erected it near the site of a fisherman's hut, whose name was Tani. The author of *Hikayat Patani* states Patani to have the name of the landing place where the old fisherman used to descend to the water, and where a white Plandok, pursued by the first Mussulman prince, Ismail Shah, disappeared."

"The Raja from over-the-sea married and begot two sons. The eldest he appointed as his successor to the throne of Patani, but over the future of his younger son he was for some time worried. One day, however, having gone down to the seashore, he saw the sea towards the land in the South glittering in the sun like lightning. He fancied the beauty of the country afar, and exclaimed, *Kilat-Kilatan!* (the lightning flash), whence the present name of the country, Kelantan, is derived."

The peasant in Kelantan calls his country, up to the present day, Kelantan, the *n* after *la* is hardly ever heard. In old MSS. Kelantan is very often spelled كلن and on the *mas dirat*, the old Kelantan gold coin, one reads كلن too. But surely never were more fantastic etymologists than those that have tried to derive Kelantan!

"The Raja from over-the-sea went to Kelantan with his youngest son, landed at Kuala Golok, found the place suitable for a capital of the new country, and said, *Patut kita tabalkan di-sini anak kita, dan kita namakan negeri ini Kilatan.* ("It will suit us very well to proclaim our son ruler here, and we will name the country Kilatan"). The place was afterwards called Tabal, a fort was built and here grew up the first known capital of Kelantan. Years, possibly generations after this, news came that the King of Siam wanted to conquer both Patani and Kelantan. The ruler of Kelantan, Sultan Muhammad, sent a white elephant in his possession as a gift of honour to placate the King of Siam. The Siamese king was pleased, and sent in return his daughter (or sister) to be married to the Raja of Kelantan. When the children of Sultan Muhammad and his Siamese consort had to be named and given titles, the question arose whether to follow the Muhammadan or the Siamese custom. A compromise was made, and it was decided to give the children Muhammadan names with

Siamese titles. Thus Raja was replaced with Long (Siamese, Luang) for the sons, and Nai for the daughters."

Down to the present day Siamese influence is present in Kelantan; for instance, in the Sri Rama *wayang*.

"We now go ahead" says Tengku Khalid, "a few or many generations, as it may be, to a descendant of the Patani family, styled the Dato' of Pujud. He was attacked by the Siamese, their force being too strong, he retired to Pengkalan Dato' near the former mouth of the Kelantan River, where he built a fort, settled down and became ruler of Kelantan. Later this fort was called Kota Jimbar, after the next ruling family of Kelantan. About the origin of this family no records are available, but folklore tells the following.—One day Dato' Pujud was sitting in his audience hall when he suddenly saw a huge bamboo in the distance. Inspecting it further he made up his mind to cut it down and bring it back to his fort; but when he cut open the bamboo, a young princeling appeared from the stem, a descendant of the famous Tuan Putri Sadong (6). Dato' Pujud made this boy his successor, and from him the Jimbar Rajas arose while the former ruling family from over-the-sea went out of power for a period. The last ruler of the Jimbar family was a Queen, Nam Chayam. During her reign it happened that a couple of youngsters in her family committed incest (*sumbang*).

"Nam Chayam furious at the insult lifted a big stone and threw it into the river at Kuala Kelantan (Kuala Pak Amat), cursing her family thus: *Jikalan tidak timbul batu ini, keturunan aku tidak buleh memerentah lagi di-negeri Kelantan.* ("If this stone does not come back to the surface my descendants will not be able to rule the country of Kelantan any more"). The stone did not emerge, and after Nam Chayam's death her relations started to fight as to who should be her successor, with the result, that an outsider, a local chief, Raja Kubang Labu, came into power and became the ruler-in-chief of Kelantan.

"For how long the Rajas of Kubang Labu were in power is not certain, but about the last one, Long Pandak, was married to a daughter of the Raja of Pasir Mas (Sungai Golok)."

Here I may remark that in 1931 when visiting Pasir Mas, a village on the Golok River, I found traces of ancient fortifications.

* In the jungle behind the Kusial range, a hill south of Bukit Kemahang was pointed out to me as Bukit Raja Sumbang. On asking my old Kusial guide why the hill was so named, he told me, that when he was young, old people said, that two anak raja committed incest, and afterwards took refuge on this hill A.R.

A circular zig-zag line in a ricefield, obviously the remains of a mound, was pointed out to me as the fort of the Raja Pasir.

" Long Pandak's Laksamana was Long Bahar (— see Arabic), a descendant of the family from over-the-sea, and father to Long Yunus. One day the consort of Long Pandak saw Long Bahar carry a beautiful *sarong*, and asked him to lend it to her, possibly in order to get her women to copy it on their looms. But Long Pandak came along and recognised the *sarong* as belonging to Long Bahar. Being suspicious as to her fidelity, he killed his consort and sent the body on an elephant back to her father, the Raja of Pasir Mas who went immediately to the fort at Kubang Labu and killed Long Pandak. After this Long Bahar was allowed to take charge of Kelantan. He never assumed the title of Sultan. He had two daughters, one of whom was married to a powerful chief, Long Drahman, a raja of the Rahman country (north of Kelantan): some say that he was Raja of Legeh. Long Drahman was ambitious; he soon quarrelled with his father-in-law, and in the end killed Long Bahar and made himself ruler of Kelantan. Long Drahman was styled Baginda, and it is said, that that he conquered countries right up north to Singora in Siam. He built his fort at Kota Lama (about the site of the present Residency in Kota Baharu). The graves of Long Bahar, Long Drahman and their wives are still shown, close to the river-bank in Kota Baharu: there are no inscriptions. Long Bahar left a son, Long Yunus, a small boy when Long Bahar was killed. Long Yunus became the progenitor of the present royal family of Kelantan. Long Drahman's chiefs saw a future danger in this boy, and they approached the ruler pointing this out to him. An old nurse of the boy overheard the conversation, and in the early hours of the next morning, when everybody was at prayers and the gate left unguarded, she fled with the boy in her arms and managed to arrive undiscovered at Yong Bakar, west of Tumpat. Here they met a party bringing another *anak raja*, Long Gapar, from the country of Rahman. The ruler of Rahman desired to kill Long Gapar for some reason or another, and he was carried away to Kelantan. On hearing that Kelantan also appeared not too safe, they all went to Trengganu, where they were well received by the ruler, Marhum Janggut (Sultan Mansur Shah), who brought up the two boys at his court. Later, when a party of Bugis arrived in Trengganu and challenged the Trengganu folk at cockfighting, Long Yunus and Long Gapar became famous. None of the Trengganu people had any luck, but Long Yunus and Long Gapar saved the honour of Trengganu. Sultan Mansur Shah showed his gratitude by assisting Long Yunus to get into power in Kelantan. He armed a fleet, and went to Kuala Pak Amat in Kelantan, where a force tried to resist his invasion.

'I am not coming to conquer Kelantan,' the Sultan said, 'but to instal an *anak Raja Kelantan* as ruler.' Long Yunus was then made Raja of Kelantan, and Long Gapar became his Prime-Minister under the title, Sri Maharaja Perdana Mantri."

Another tale says that Long Gapar was the prince, who got the wife of Long Pandak into trouble, and afterwards fled to Trengganu together with Long Yunus, who being an *anak raja* from Patani had been brought up at Raja Kubang Labu's fort.

From Dr. Winstedt (JRASMB., X, pt. I, p. 166) we know, that about 1740 A.D. the "Yang-di-pertuan Besar (Sultan Sulaiman) of Johore sailed to Trengganu, Long Pendawa and Inche' Amat came from Kelantan, and the former was given the title Dato' Sri Maharaja. Raja Kechil was installed as ruler of Trengganu under title Sultan Mansur Shah." Long Pendawa is probably identical with Long Pandak:—the writer of the MS. may have omitted the dot above ڇ which would then read ڻ; and so spell Pendawa.

Long Pandak is mentioned by Sir H. Marriott (5) as being a vassal ruler under Baginda Long Drahman, Raja of Legeh, who conquered Kelantan. It is furthermore stated there, that Long Yunus was made Raja Muda Kelantan under Long Pandak, by Sultan Mansur Shah of Trengganu.

From Dr. Winstedt it appears (JRASMB., X, II), that some time after 1753 A.D., "Raja Ismail (of Siak) raids Siantan and sails on to Trengganu, where he marries a daughter of the ruler (S. Mansur Shah), and helps to win three campaigns against Kelantan." This agrees with Sir H. Marriott's account (5).

Sultan Mansur Shah was a powerful ruler, and it looks as if he intended to get a strong hold in Kelantan, but the Siamese and the Patani folk had an eye on Kelantan too. The Kelantanese, however, had no intention of submitting to their neighbours. This Sultan Mansur Shah may have realised, and he used Long Yunus, his protégé, to get a footing. He created Long Yunus Raja Muda of Kelantan, and later, when he had married his son to a daughter of Long Yunus, Inche' ku Tuan Nawi, he gave his son the title of Yang-di-pertuan Kelantan, and installed him in the presence of Sultan Mahmud of Lingga, about 1793 A.D. (5). It looks as if Long Yunus never did possess strong hold over Kelantan. On the one hand he had the Kubang Labu family (and the Raja of Legeh) to keep out of power, and on the other his friends, the Trengganu Rajas, were pressing him into the background in order to obtain power for their own family.

Long Yunus died in 1794 A.D. He is buried at Langgar, the present royal cemetery: the gravestone is covered by an ant hill, regarded as a good omen, and no dates are available.

The traditional tale, related by Tengku Khalid, about Long Yunus's ancestor, the *anak raja jemerang laut*, may be compared with the history recorded in the *Sejarah Melayu* and the Bugis *salsilah* (7). The *Sejarah Melayu* informs us, that Sultan Iskandar Shah of Kelantan (ca. 1500 A.D.) was a descendant of Raja Chulan. Local tradition says, that the ancestor of the present royal family of Kelantan came from over-the-sea; and further, *mula-mulai kuasa besar; kuasa jatoh, hilang habis; kemudian timbul-lah pula*. ("First they were in great power; later the power vanished and disappeared; afterwards coming to the surface again"). The Bugis *salsilah* tell, that when the Bugis prince, Upu Daeng Rilaka, visited Kemboja, he challenged a Raja Chulan there to a cockfight. The main trade route to the far East went in ancient times through from Kelantan to Kemboja (8); there must have been a constant connection between these two countries; down to the present day small Malay schooners from Kemboja are said to visit Kelantan on occasions. In Kemboja there is a great Malay element. Did the ruling family of Kelantan originate from Kemboja? The Raja from over-the-sea may have come from either Kemboja or from Siam. Members of the ruling family and members of old Kelantan families of the better class are in appearance very light in colour, often almost white.

Looking back at Newbold's list of Kelantan rulers (3) we find a female sovereign, Dawi Perachu, who may be identical with the Jimbar queen, in local tradition called Nam Chayam. The next ruler is Paduka Shah 'Alam, possibly identical with Raja Kubang Labu, Long Pandak, who received the title Dato' Sri Maharaja from the Sultan of Trengganu. Next comes Laksamana as the ruler; he is identical with Long Bahar. His name was either Nik (Senik) or Sulaiman, and he was the father of Long Yunus. Baginda (3) must be Long Drahman, Raja of Legeh (or Rahman), and then we arrive at Long Yunus.

In his book "Kelantan" (10) Mr. W. A. Graham, the first Siamese Adviser to Kelantan, (then a Siamese Malay State), writes as follows:—"The early history of Kelantan is lost in obscurity, owing to the fact no records have ever been kept. This is possibly due to the fact, that everybody was too busy, engaged in local wars, to have time for any records; on the other hand, if records had been in existence, those have probably been lost, or destroyed by the victorious parties, for reasons obvious."

Old maps contain some information.

In Eredia's map the mouth of the Kelantan River, Calantan Rio, is shown, but no town (1600 A.D.). W. A. Graham remarks:—"That there was a town of some importance not far from the mouth of the Kelantan River at least 350 years ago is proved by the fact that the Dutch and Portuguese maps of

the sixteenth century all show a capital city there, the name of which is variously given as Calantan, Calatam, and Calantao." And, further, "It is remarkable also that in the maps of the Malay Peninsula made by Father Placide and by Guendeville at the beginning of the eighteenth century, no town of Kelantan is marked, though the river of that name is shown, while in Roberts' map of 1757 the town reappears. It is quite probable that during the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the statelet which had the town as its capital had been altogether broken up beneath the sway of Patani and Trengganu, and that it was not until well on in the eighteenth century that it began to emerge once more, owing probably to the weakening of its conqueror."

So we know little about Kelantan before the time of Sultan Iskandar Shah, except that there was strong Javanese influence from Majapahit.

It is not known when Islam came to Kelantan. The title, Sultan Iskandar Shah, indicates that Kelantan had embraced Islam as long ago as 1500 A.D. approximately. Local tradition claims, that Islam came from the East before it came to Malacca, brought by traders from Yunan. No proof is available beyond the 14th century Trengganu stone with its Muslim inscription. According to Newbold, Piatu Nakapa was the first Muslim ruler of Patani (or Chau Sri Bangsa, son of the King of Siam); the period of his ruler in Patani may have been more or less the same time as the period of Sultan Iskandar Shah in Kelantan.

Kelantan may have been an important State before the time of the Siamese invasion. Trade routes passed its shores and possibly traders anchored at the river mouth to refill their stores before crossing the Gulf of Siam towards Cambodia, on their way to China. The country may have been of importance as a trading centre more than 2000 years ago. Originally a Sakai country, the Malays from the south may have had an eye open to its importance, and by and by Malays from Palembang, Majapahit and Minangkabau settled at the river mouth and mixed with the Siamese and Cambodians, driving the Sakai into the interior. Early Indian traders or perhaps Palembang Malays possibly brought Hinduism, and afterwards Indian, Persian and Arabian traders introduced Islam. Before that the people were animists. The widespread and strong beliefs, up to the present date, in shaman lore probably came from the continent of Asia, though in Kelantan as in Patani, there is a strong Javanese element in magical practices.

The old Kelantan gold coin, the *maz dinar*, appears in several forms. All bear inscriptions in Arabic letters: one specimen shows the name *Kelatan* (كليسن) another a *Kijang* (barking deer, which animal is also found on the present Sultan's coat-of-arms). This

coin was possibly introduced by Indian traders as only on Indian coins are animal figures usual. Later the Malay Rajas possibly minted gold coins themselves. At the site of Raja Kubang Labu's fort many coins have been excavated: they are thus more than 200 years old.

During, or after, the reign of Sultan Iskandar Shah the Portuguese raided the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula (1523 A.D.); attacked Pahang, burnt Patani and took slaves in plenty (JRASMB., IV, II). This may have affected Kelantan, and it looks as if the family of Sultan Iskandar Shah went out of power, as Raja Husain from the south became Sultan of Kelantan about 1580 A.D. But in 1603 the Siamese conquered Patani, and for a considerable period we hear nothing about Kelantan, so that it may have come under the sway of Siam and been ruled from Patani. Almost certainly Kelantan during this period was divided up into smaller kingdoms, each ruled by its own chief, vassals partly under Patani, and partly under Trengganu. According to tradition Kelantan consisted of two countries, and it may have been that the chiefs west of the Kelantan River paid respect to Patani (Siam), and those east of the river to the rulers of Trengganu. This would explain the fact that no town at the mouth of the Kelantan River is to be found on maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tradition tells us that the Patani King founded a new capital at the mouth of the Golok River, called Tabal: this was possibly the centre of the western province. Of ruling chiefs there we know about Raja Pasir Mas (S. Golok), Raja Legeh, and Raja Kubang Labu. Local tradition gives the following names of chiefs in the eastern province, the Jimbar Rajas, Sultan Abdullah, Kota Jelasin, Sultan Drahman, Kota Tras, and To' Raja Udang (*tuboh-nya merah saperti udang*), Langgar, Raja Kunon, Raja Sungai, Nam Chayam (queen), To' Raja Loyar, and Bendura Raja Jinal.

In 1644 A.D. Nam Chayam (Nang Chnyam, Nebang Chayam, Kuning, or Perachu) was queen of Patani, the last ruler of the Patani sovereigns (Newbold). Looking back on these rulers, Patek Siam may have been the ruler when the Siamese conquered Patani in 1603 A.D. as the title indicates vassalage to Siam; or perhaps Piatu Nakapa, the founder of Patani (3) was the Siamese Prince who conquered Patani in 1603 A.D., though in that case there would have been eight rulers in forty years.

Kelantan was thus practically without a ruler for about a hundred years, power being in the hands of local chiefs, who were quarrelling and fighting in order to obtain supreme power. Then a branch of the ruling family in Patani came to Kelantan apparently about 1730 A.D. The Trengganu annals (5) say: *masa itu Kelantan belum lagi ada beraja*, and they tell us further that Tuan Besar and Tuan Lun Nik, the grandsons of Dato' Wan

Senik, Raja Patani, were the two chiefs, who settled down in Kelantan. It may also be suggested, that the Dato' Pujud, mentioned by Tengku Khalid, who built a fort at Pengkalan Dato' in Kelantan, was identical with Dato' Pengkalan Tua, the son of the Raja Patani, Wan Senik, and that the Jimbal family ruled before, and not after him. Anyhow Dr. Winstedt gives us a date for the time of Long Pandak's rulership—1740 A.D. After his death Long Bahar (Tuan Long Nik, Long Sulaiman), the son of Tuan Besar, was allowed to take charge, but his power was weakened by perpetual quarrels with his son-in-law, the powerful chief Long Drahman, Baginda, who in the end killed Long Bahar and made himself ruler of Kelantan. It is possible, that both Trengganu and Patani were frightened of Long Drahman, and saw a future danger in him, for which reason they helped Long Yunus, the son of Long Bahar, to get into power as nominal ruler of Kelantan. The year for Long Yunus' installation is unknown, but perhaps his reign commenced about 1775 A.D.

After the death of Long Yunus, his son-in-law, Tengku Muhammad, son of Sultan Mansur Shah, Trengganu, became ruler of Kelantan for some years. Apparently he did not get on too well with his brothers-in-law, the sons of Long Yunus, who, placed in the background, felt the family power vanish into the hands of the Trengganu family. Finally, when a marriage was being prepared between a Trengganu princess, daughter of Sultan Zain-al-Abidin, and Tengku Sulong, the son of Tengku Muhammad, Yang-di-pertuan Kelantan, it came to an open fight, and Yang-di-pertuan Tengku Muhammad retired to Trengganu. The Sultan of Trengganu made war on Kelantan; Long Muhammad retired to Sokor (H. Marriott:—Sukui), and the Trengganu army plundered whatever they could for about five months (5). Later, when the Trengganu prince had settled down again in Kelantan, he attacked, by the assistance of his brother the Sultan of Trengganu, the stockade at Pasir Mas (probably Pasir Mas on the Kelantan River). Long Muhammad's men came down from the Ulu, and, supported by several thousands of Chinese from Galas (Pulai), they managed to drive back the Trengganu army and their supporters from Patani. The enemy left Kelantan, though three years after they prepared for war again but gave it up (5).

Long Muhammad's reign commenced in 1800 A.D. under the title Sultan Muhammad I. Sultan Muhammad's seal (Pl. IX) shows the following inscription:—

.....? Khalilu'llah Raja Kelantan

.....? al-Sultan Yunus al-Marhum
Sanat 1215.

The first and the third line I have been unable to decipher. 1215 A.H. corresponds to 1800 A.D.

According to Mr. W. A. Graham (10) Raja Mamat (Long Muhammad) was the son of Raja Janggut, who together with "Wan Jaffar, a commander in the Trengganu army" (Long Gapar) conquered Kelantan. I presume that Mr. Graham's informant made the same mistake as an old Malay, who talked to me about Long Yunus as Raja Janggut. The two names refer to two different persons. Raja Janggut refers to Sultan Mansur Shah of Trengganu, who was known after his death as Marhum Janggut. Furthermore, Mr. Graham mentions Raja Janggut as a brother of Raja Kubang Labu. I feel inclined to think that Raja Kubang Labu was a relation to Long Yunus; tradition says so. From information now at hand it appears that Long Yunus had no brothers.

The residence of Sultan Muhammad I was Pulau Sabar, an island in the river between the present Kota Baharu and Palek-bang; it has since disappeared, destroyed by floods.

The Sultan's brothers, the Beniahara (Long Zainal), the Temenggong (Long Tan), and Raja Muda (possibly Long Ismail) conspired against him, but without success. Later Long Zainal conspired against Long Tan, and succeeded, by help of the Pulai Chinese, in killing Long Tan during a trip he made up the Galas River. The Chinese had filled with *damar* the bamboos of the *rakit* on which Long Tan slept, and he was burned to death. Tengku Senik, son of Long Tan (later Sultan Mulut Merah) immediately took revenge, and with his brothers made war on the Chinese, who were killed in thousands. Tengku Senik was a man of action. In those days there was a settlement of Chinese gold miners up the Sokor River and its tributaries, possibly Chinese from Galas. According to tradition every one of them was driven out or killed: "the river water turned red from their blood, in thousands the corpses came floating downstream out to sea, and the river water was undrinkable for months." The Chinese never again entered the Sokor jungle. The Chinese at Pulai and Sokor saw their advantages in obeying the orders of the Raja Bendahara; but, not being aware of the aggressive power of the youthful Tengku Senik they made a mistake and had to pay for it. In the Sokor jungle there are still many traces of the Chinese mining, showing that the jungle must have been thickly populated in those days. Local names such as Sungai China Ah Hock and Kubang Yah (the last said to be the name of a wealthy Towkay, who lived at Lentang Kerat, on the Bertam River above Kuala Perala) give evidence of the Chinese settlement. At Lentang Kerat I have found traces of the mining; the Bertam River was closed by at least two *pongong*, one above Lentang Kerat leading the

water through Chigar Sai (between the hills Bukit Chigar Sai and Bukit Julok), and the other just below Lentang Kerat leading the water through Kubang Yah into the Perala River; the bed of the Bertam River was thus made dry for a distance of one to two miles in each place and so suitable for washing the gold dust, which can be found almost anywhere in small quantities on the Sokor River and its tributaries, but now-a-days scarcely in quantities to pay a native for his daily requirements. On one of my trips up the Sokor River I found an old Kris, showing out from the bottom of the river bed: it is now in Raffles Museum in Singapore and is of an unusual shape; probably it is a relic from this war on the Chinese. A place near the mouth of the Sokor River is pointed out as the Raja's Kubu (fort). Near it the Gantang (described in JRASMB. 1933, vol. XI, pt. II) is said to be found: its date, 1222 A.H. (1807 A.D.) brings us back to the time of Sultan Muhammad I.

Sultan Muhammad I paid tribute to Siam: a bouquet of gold flowers, worth several thousand dollars, was sent to Bangkok once every three years by a special embassy on board the Sultan's own vessel. This appears to have been a matter of diplomacy in order to keep on peaceful terms. The Kelantan rulers regarded themselves as independent.

In 1832 the King of Patani was at war with the Siamese: overpowered, he retired to Kelantan. The Siamese Praklang ordered the King back, and the Sultan of Kelantan had to comply with the order. Newbold (3) says that Patani "was heavily taxed; many of its inhabitants made slaves, and numbers carried away into captivity to Siam. The Praklang took with him from Patani to Bangkok, in September 1832, upwards of four thousand captives, in a dreadful state of misery." Sultan Muhammad I of Kelantan had to send "a large present of specie and gold dust" to Siam for the sake of peace (3). Newbold adds:—"The Siamese, by this interference, have acted in direct violation of their treaty with the British Government." And further:—"Kelantan, like Tringau, Quedah, and Patani, has, from time immemorial, been harassed by the vexatious demands of Siam; and, according to Anderson, has repeatedly solicited the protection of the British Government, and requested an establishment there of an English Factory, offering very considerable advantages. It has now almost succumbed to the Siamese yoke, although nominally under its Malay Raja."

The treaty mentioned was signed on 20 June, 1826, by Capt. Burney on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor of Bengal, and the Siamese Prince Ktom Menn Loorin Therakas, in the city of the sacred Kingdom of Si-a-yoo-the-ya (Ayuthia). (3). Part of article 12 in the treaty runs as follows:—

"Siam shall not go and obstruct, or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringanu and Calantan; English Merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in the future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had."

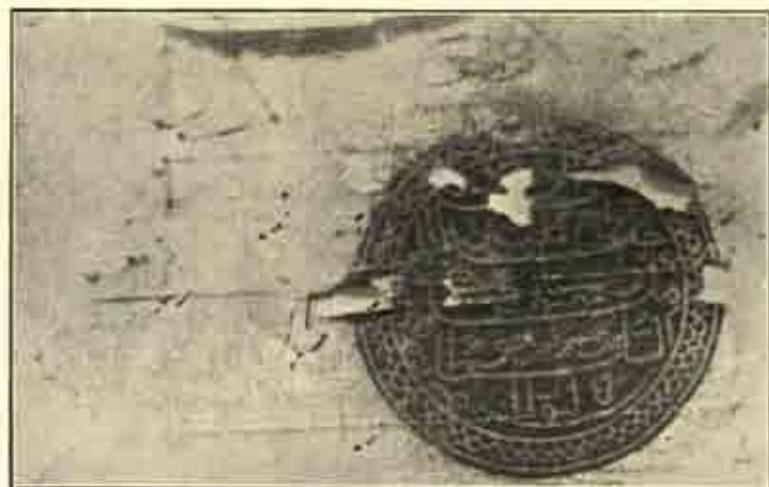
Anglo-Siamese relations at this time have been exhaustively treated by Mr. L. A. Mills (*JRASMB*, 1925, Vol. I, pt. II).

To be a Malay ruler in those days required a very strong hand and a hard character. Conspiracies by minor chiefs continually involved the ruler in an atmosphere of suspicion towards almost everybody at court, where the air was boiling with intrigue. The conspiring chiefs were merely acting according to old custom, and as soon as one ruler had left this treacherous world for a more peaceful life on the other side of the grave, the wheel of intrigue immediately turned against the newly appointed ruler. This was, however, only one of troubles, a family matter, so to speak, inside the palisades. On top of that the ruler had to deal with revolting minor chiefs in the more remote corners of the country, who, on occasions, tried hard to obtain more power by conspiring in company with neighbouring States. And worst of all worries was the fear of the neighbours to the North, whose interference, whenever serious internal trouble arose, appeared to be of an expensive nature.

Newbold describes Long Muhammad as a wary old chief. He died in 1835 A.D., and is buried at Langgar. He is known as Marhum Mandul because he left no issue.

The genealogical tree of the present ruling family (p. 62) has been worked out according to information obtained from different sources during the last three years, but mainly by the kind assistance of Dato' Perdana Mantri Paduka Raja. It was approved by His Highness the Sultan and the Kerabat Negri (Council of members of the ruling family) in October 1932. It commences from Long Yunus. The time before his reign is only known very vaguely, as no reliable records have been available in Kelantan up to now. The ancestor mentioned in Dato' Perdana Menteri Paduka Raja's *salsilah*, Andik Ali, is not accepted by several old members of the royal family and further investigation is required. The reigns of the Sultans do not agree with those recorded by Mr. Graham, but a guide to these may be found in inscriptions on royal graves.

The younger brother of Sultan Mulut Merah, Sultan Dewa, became Raja of Jering, a state south of Patani (10). Tengku Long Ismail, Raja Kampong Laut (son of Long Yunus) is possibly identical with Raja Muda, mentioned by Graham, who after the death of Long Muhammad was offered the rulership of Kelantan, on account of his gentle disposition, but declined the honour, retired to the court of Siam, and was sent from there to found a new



The seal of Sultan Muhammad I (from an old document).



Grave at Lorong Kuhor, Kota Bharu, pointed out as the grave of Baginda Long Drahman.

family as Raja of Patani. Tengku Long Zainal, Raja Banggul (Bendahara) was the ruler for a short period after the death of Long Muhammad; but Tengku Senik (Sultan Mulut Merah) forced him out of the country.

Engku Temena of Sabak (mentioned in the *salsilah*) is mentioned by Munshi Abdullah, in *Pelayaran Abdullah*, as a minor Raja, who received Abdullah when he arrived in Kelantan during the civil war in 1838.

Royal Cemetery at Langgar.

Inscriptions on Graves:—

Sultan Mulut Merah, died 1304 A.H. (1886 A.D.).

Sultan Ahmad, died 1307 A.H. (1889 A.D.).

Sultan Muhammad bin Sultan Ahmad, died 1308 A.H.
(1890 A.D.).

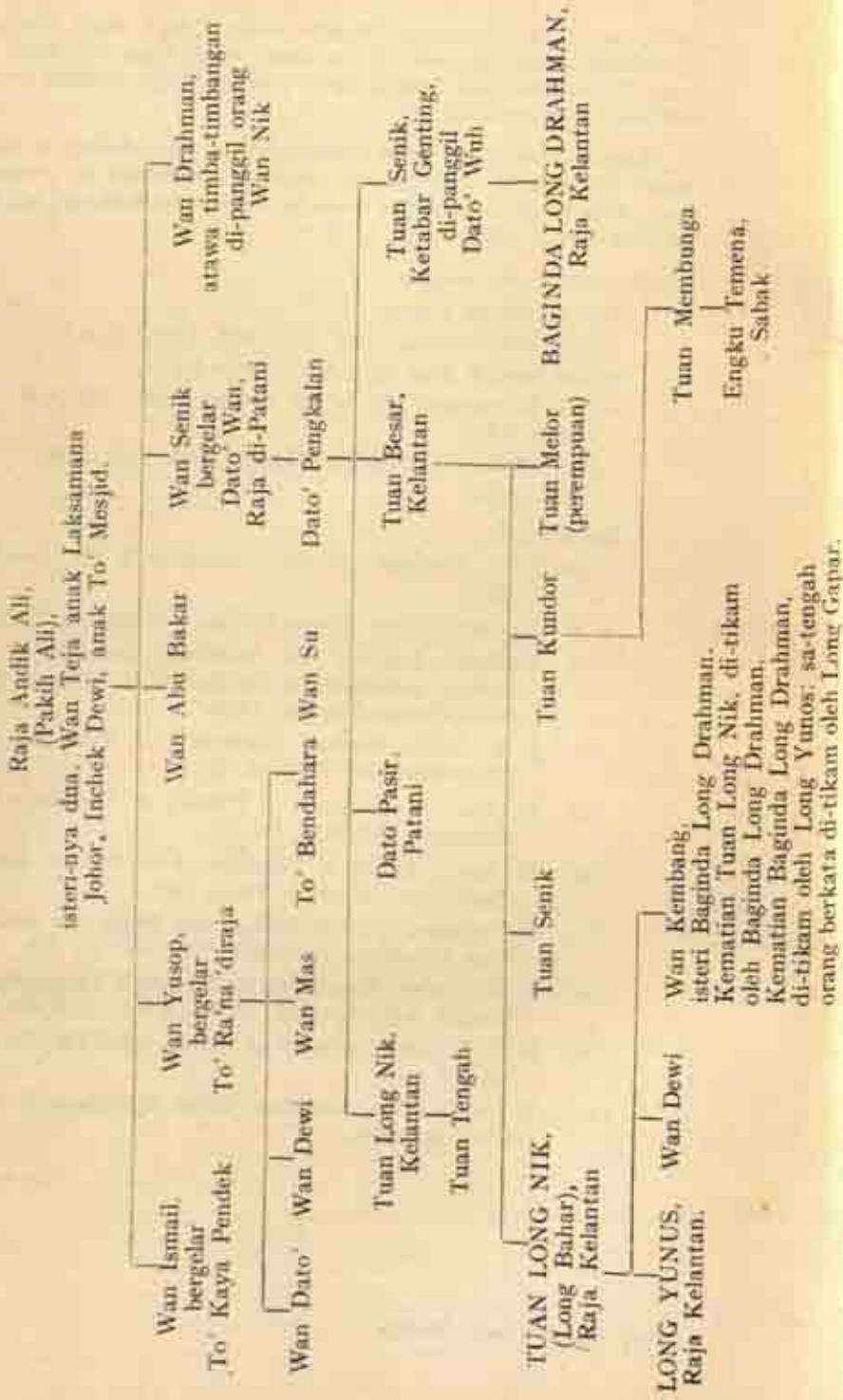
Sultan Mansur bin Sultan Ahmad, died 1317 A.H.
(1899 A.D.).

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- (5) H. Marriott, Fragment of History of Trengganu and Kelantan, JRASSB, No. 72.
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- (10) W. A. Graham, Kelantan, James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1908.

Salsilah according to Dato' Perdana Mantri Paduka Raja, Kelantan.

Dari padis Agong Ruman anak raja Bugis mula-mulia Andik Ali sampai di-Johor Kota Tinggi beristeri disana kepada anak Laksamana Johor Kota Tinggi isterinya nama Wan Teja, kemudian dia berjisan menuntut islam, laki isteri, sampai ka-negeri Patani; pada masa itu belum lagi bergelar Patani, dan beranak lima orang yang laki-laki dan perempuan, satengah kattu ampat orang namanya tidak terang; sampai di-Patani di-panggil orang Pakih Ali dan anak-nya yang lahir nama-nya seperti lugi akan sebut. Wa'lahu alam.



COINS OF KELANTAN.

By W. LINEHAN.

The following note on Kelantan Coins was inspired by a paper in this journal (April 1923) by the late Sir John Bucknill. I am indebted to Mr. Anker Rentse of Kota Bharu, Kelantan, and to Tengku Khalid and several other Malay gentlemen for assistance in providing me with specimens. I must preface my remarks by admitting that I do not keep in touch with numismatic journals and that the information here given has to a large extent been obtained locally.

GOLD.

Three types of gold coins found in Kelantan have come into my possession and I have seen a fourth. Coins similar to three of the types have been described by Bucknill "On some coins from Malaya" (JRASSB. 1923, vol. 1). My coins were dug up, I understand, on the north bank of the Kelantan river at Kubang Labu on or near the site of an old fort. The local people say that old coins are found only on that side: a possible indication that the original capital of Kelantan was built on the northern bank of the river. Plate X (a) and (b) Figs. 2 show a coin with the inscription on one side *Malik al-adil* "The just Lord" and on the other side the representation of an animal which according to the Kelantan folk is a *bijang* (barking deer). It is not unlikely that their assumption is correct. The coin in my possession is a good specimen. Mr. Moquette (quoted by Bucknill) is certain that the coin is not Achinese. Similar coins have been found at Jaring near Patani; it has a Mohammedan inscription, and Patani has always been closely associated with Kelantan; Kelantan royalty describe themselves as being of the same clan (*satu puak*) as the inhabitants of Patani. On the whole it is probable that the coin is of Kelantan origin. It is noteworthy that on the coat of arms of His Highness the Sultan of Kelantan is shown a representation of two *kijang*; and it may be that the idea of representing these animals in the royal coat of arms was derived from the figure on this type of coin. Mr. Evans ("Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula") describes a similar coin found at Sungai Batu, Kedah.

Plate X (a) and (b) Figs. 1 show another type of *kijang* coin lent to me by Mr. Anker Rentse. The deer is poorly done. The coin bears on the obverse the inscription *al-adil* "The Just." The coin represented on the same plate figs. 3 has on one side the inscription *Al Mutawakkil ali Allah* and on the other *Al Julius Kelantan*: it is described by Bucknill (*loc. cit.*) who had had to deal with a very defective specimen. Figures 4 on the same plate show a poor specimen of the same coin.

Another gold coin of which I have seen two specimens in Kelantan is shown on Plate X (c). On one side is *Malik al-adil*, and on the other the representation of a flower? This coin is locally known as *dinar matahari* "the sun coin."

All the gold coins date possibly from the 17th or 18th century. The history of Kelantan before the latter part of the 18th century appears to be wrapped in almost complete mystery. The present royal dynasty was founded about 1793 A.D. and very little is known of its predecessors though the *Sejarah Melayu* gives some meagre details.

PEWTER.—The Pewter coins known all date from the 19th and 20th centuries and fairly full information is available regarding them. The present dynasty reigned throughout this period. The following is the list of rulers:—

Long Yunus (c. 1766-1794)	
Temenggong Long Tan.	Muhammad I (<i>Marhum Mandul</i> c. 1800-1835.)
Muhammad II (<i>Mulut Merah</i> c. 1835-1886)	
Ahmad (Sultan Tengah 1886-1889)	
Muhammad III (Sultan Bongsu 1889-1891)	Sultan Mansur (c. 1891-1899)
Muhammad IV (c. 1899-1919)	
Sultan Ismail (reigning).	

Plate XI (a) and XI (b) Fig. 1 show a pewter coin bearing in rough lettering on the obverse the inscription *Khalijat al Muminin* "Lord of the Faithful" and on the reverse (?) *Sanat 1256* (?) "Date 1256" (1840 A.D.). On that date Muhammad II (the third Ruler of the present dynasty) was Sultan of Kelantan. He was known as *Marhum Mulut Merah*. This is the only Kelantan coin known here that has a square hole in the centre: it seems to be of the greatest rarity.

Plate XI (a) and XI (b) Fig. 2. This coin bears on both sides the legend *Khalijat al Muminin* ("Lord of the Faithful"): the style of lettering would seem to indicate that it is of the same period as the coin of 1256 A.H.

The same Plate (a) and (b) Fig. 3. According to Bucknill (*loc. cit.*). "A pewter coin with a circular hole in the centre. Size 28.3 m.m. Plain edge. On one side in Arabic script is



a.

2.



4

1.



3

b.

2



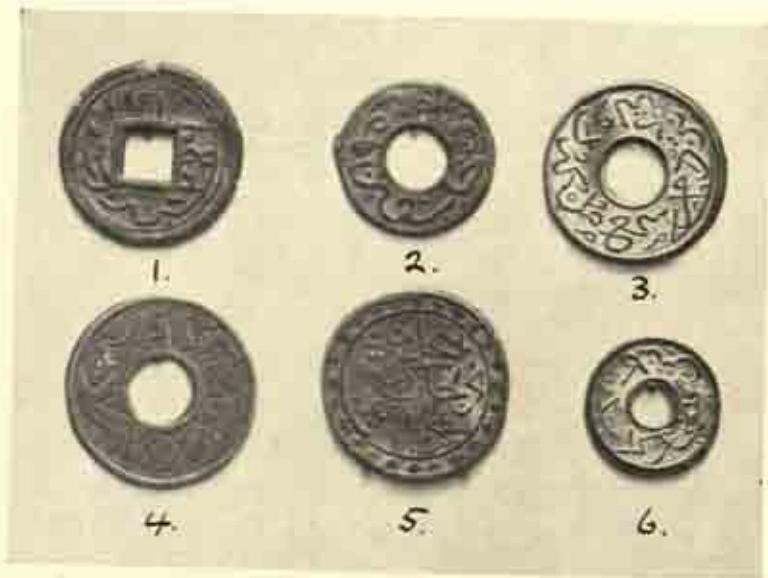
4

1

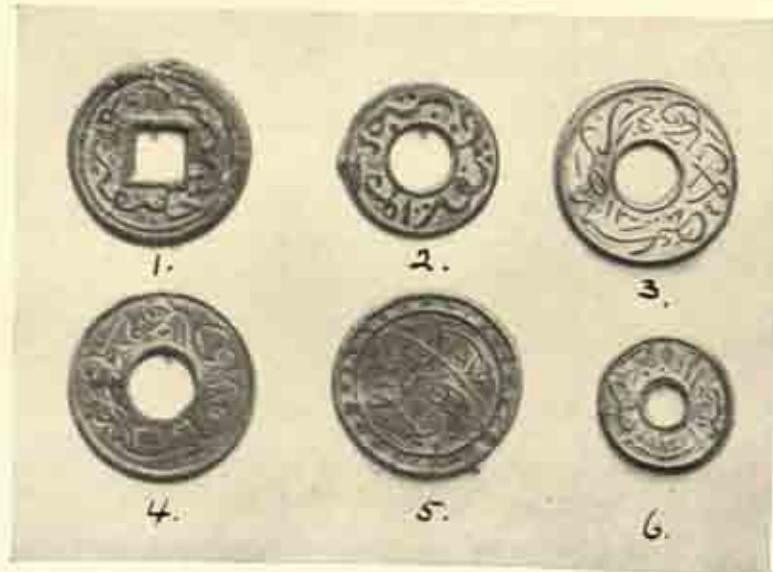


3

a.



a.



b.

Thuriba fi Jamaddil Akhir (Sanat) 1300" (i.e. "struck in the month Jemaddil Akhir 1300"). The Hejira date ١٣٠٠ — 1882-3. On the other side is, in Arabic script *Dama Sama Mulka Daulat Kelantan* (i.e. "Permanent be the prosperity of the country Kelantan"). One was sold at Lord Grantley's sale in Amsterdam in 1921 as part of lot 1509."

Bucknill describes a coin of which I have not seen a specimen. He notes it as "A pewter coin with a circular hole in the centre. Diameter about 29 m.m. Plain edge. Inscription in Arabic script on both sides. These read on one side *Thuriba fi Jamada'l Akhir Sanat 13* which I take to mean 'Struck in the month Jamad a'l-Akhir 1313 A.H. (— 1895-6 A.D.) and on the other *Daulat Kelantan dama sama mulki ki*. It is a well-made clearly stamped coin."

The same Plate (a) and (b) Fig. 4. This coin has a round hole in the centre. On one side it bears the inscription *Malikah belanjaan Kerajaan Kelantan*, "Prosperous be the currency of the Government of Kelantan," and on the other *Sunih fi Jamada'l Awal Sanat 1314* — 1896-7.

A *keneri* (a branch of 15) of these coins was sold at Amsterdam in 1922 for £1.13.4. Bucknill quotes Schulman's description of this branch of coins as follows "La branche décrite se trouve dans l'état où sont les monnaies assorties du moule donnant une idée de quelle manière les monnaies de Malacca sont fabriquées" Mr. J. H. N. Evans' paper on "A coin mould from Kelantan" (Journal of the F.M.S. Museums June 1924) explains how such coins were minted. The coin is said to be rare. It was minted in the reign of Sultan Mansur.

The same Plate Fig. 5. The coin here shown is unperforated and bears on one side the inscription *Belanjaan Kerajaan Kelantan sa-puloh keping*, "Currency of the Government of Kelantan ten keping" and on the other side the legend:—*Sunih fi Zu'l-Hijjah Sanat 1321*" "Struck in the month of Zul-hijjah 1321" — 1903 A.D. This currency was called *jokong* or *jongkong* or *puloh*, having ten times the value of a *keping* (480 *kepings* — 1 dollar, so that a *puloh* coin would be nominally equivalent to 48 *keping*).

The following extract taken from the "General Report of Affairs of the State of Kelantan" for the periods from 1904 to 31st May, 1905 and 1st May, 1905 to 23rd February, 1906 by Mr. W. A. Graham, Adviser to His Siamese Majesty's Government in Kelantan is of interest:

"The local mint continues to turn out large quantities of the money which is probably the very worst coin made in any part of the world. The minting of money of this metal has for many

years been in the hands of a sort of Company composed of His Highness the Raja and his uncles, the profits of the work, if any, being divided among them. The former arrangement has not yet been interfered with but is left in the hands of the noblemen themselves. Formerly the coin produced had some pretensions to definite weight and shape but during the year, in the anxiety to make money before the concern is taken over by the Government, the Company has been producing money at half its full value and of the worst possible workmanship. The issue last year of the new 'Puloh' coin (nominal value one-forty-eighth of a dollar, actual value less than one hundredth part of a dollar), gave rise to a good deal of counterfeiting, false coin being manufactured in Singapore and shipped to Kelantan in the accommodating schooner of the Export Duty Farmer. It was, however, found quite impossible to make the coin so badly as the genuine article, the consequence being that several cases of uttering or possessing false coin were soon detected by the Police when the business, which from the value of the coin was naturally one of small profits, became unpopular. The Company has managed to pay a dividend this year but the coin is so entirely disgraceful to the State that the Government has decided to interfere and take over the management of the Mint as soon as possible.

"The finances of the State were much complicated by the occurrence of the severe crisis already alluded to in connection with the tin coinage which has for many years formed, together with Singapore dollars, the ordinary currency of the State. On page 10 of the last report it was mentioned that a Company including amongst its shareholders most of the nobility of the State, minted and issued small tin coin then in use and that, in a hurry to make as much profit as possible before the Government should assume control of this work, the Company was turning out a disgracefully bad coin of less than half its full value. It was also stated that in consequence of this conduct the Government had hastened its decision to take over the minting operation. Unfortunately, however, while those words were being written a great mischief was actually being accomplished for, within a month of the last report, it suddenly became known that the country had been flooded with a grossly debased coin and that the Minting Company was deciding to redeem the coin under any circumstances. An enquiry was held into the matter, when it was found impossible, owing to the entire absence of the accounts which should have been kept by the Company, to prove how much of this coin had been minted in Kelantan and how much had been imported from Trengganu and other places, where it was suspected that certain persons had established factories of the coin. In order to save the credit of the State the Government took over the responsibilities of the Minting Company at once and proceeded to redeem the coin recovering from the partners a part of the cost entailed by

the redemption. By the time \$40,000 worth had been redeemed the partners in the Company had apparently disgorged all the profits which they had made but as the country was still flooded with coin, the Treasury was obliged to borrow from His Majesty's Government to enable it to continue to call it in in exchange for silver. In this manner, a debt of \$90,000 was incurred to His Majesty's Government and at the end of the operations the State found itself in possession of 85 tons of coin, the metal contained in which was actually worth about \$40,000. To replace the money thus withdrawn from circulation, the coin was reminted into the old small 'Pittis,' about equal to its face value and this was issued providing, together with what remained of the former issue of small 'Pittis,' a local currency of \$55,000.00. Since then there has been no further trouble with the small coin.¹

This coin was minted in the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV.

Plates XI (a) and XI (b) Fig. 6. This is a representation of a *pitis keping* (1/480 of a dollar) and was minted in the reign of Sultan Muhammad IV. On one side the coin bears the inscription *Thuriba fi-Zu'l-Hijjah Sanat 1321 i.e.* "struck in the month of Zu'l-Hijjah date 1321" on the other side the legend *Belanjaan Kerajaan Kelantan* "Currency of the Government of Kelantan."

I conclude this note by quoting an extract from Sir Hugh Clifford's Report dated 1895 on his expedition to Kelantan and Trengganu:—

"The currency in Kelantan differs from that in Trengganu, the Raja only deriving a small revenue from coining tin tokens. These consist of small round tin coins the token value of which is 1/480 of a pillar dollar or 1/420 of a yen. The Mexican dollar is not accepted in Kelantan and notes and small silver coins are also refused."

"In the Galas District a gold currency is in use. The following tables shew both the tin and the gold currency:—

Kelantan Currency.

14 keping	..	..	1 keneri
4 keneri	..	..	1 kupang ¹
4 kupang	..	..	1 āmas ¹
7 kupang	..	..	1 ringgit muda
8 kupang or 2 āmas	..	..	1 ringgit tua (pillar dollar)

¹ On the Kelantan coast the words *Kupang* (meaning 12½ cents), and *āmas* (meaning 50 cents) are still in use.

II.

5 keping	..	1 lada kecil
2 lada kecil (10 keping)	1 lada besar	
2 lada besar	1 keneri	
2 keneri	1 jembir	
2 jembir	1 kupang ¹	
4 kupang	1 amas ¹	
2 amas	1 ringgit tua. ¹	

Postscript—

After this paper was written certain discoveries to which Mr. Rentse drew my attention were made in Kelantan.

At Kota Lama in Kota Bharu, situated slightly to the east of the Residency work-men making a road came upon a mould for making *pitis*. The discovery was communicated by Mr. R. C. Drew, State Engineer, Kelantan to Mr. Rentse who offered a reward for further finds. The result was the discovery of several parts of moulds. Photographs of the finds are reproduced on Plate XII. Except Plate XII Fig. 1, all the moulds are inscribed with the legend *Khalipa(t) al Muminin* "Commander of the Faithful."

Plate XII (a) Fig. 1.—Red soft brick-stone. Apparently a trial No indication of writing.

Plate XII (a) Fig. 2.—Of the same material as that shown on Fig. 1. Apparently a further stage in the development of the mould. The writing is poor, and the mould is of very inferior workmanship.

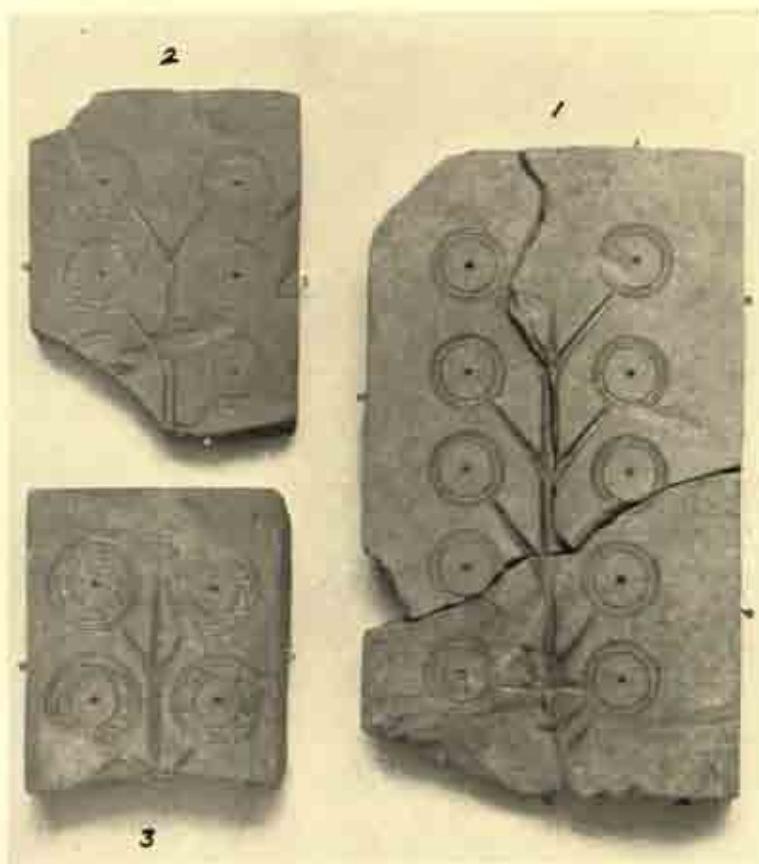
Plate XII (b) Fig. 4.—The material is of black slate-stone. Another stage in the development of the mould. The writing is improving.

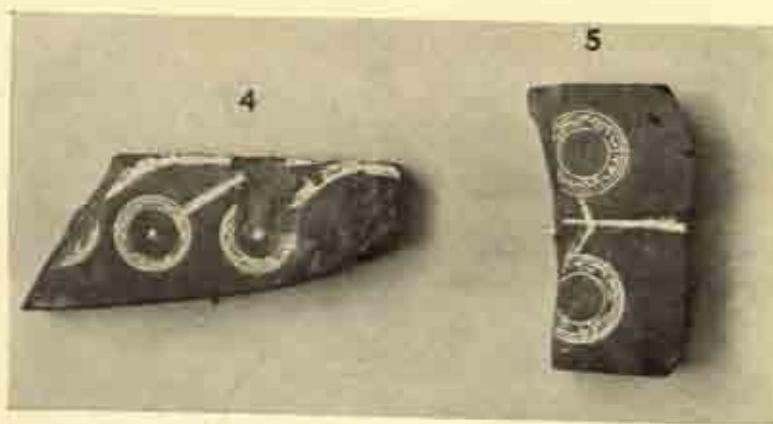
Plate XII (a) and (b) Fig. 3 and Fig. 5.—The moulds are made of soft, grey stone. The workmanship is an improvement on those described above.

Together with the moulds was found a pewter coin of the type reproduced on Plates X (a) and (b) Fig. 2.

Kota Lama was the residence of Long Yunus the first Ruler of Kelantan of the present dynasty and of his son Long Mamat (afterwards Sultan Muhammad I) up to about 1800 A.D. This indication would ascribe to the moulds and the coin an age ranging from about 1766 to 1800 A.D. This type of coin would then be

¹ On the Kelantan coast the words *Kupang* (meaning 12½ cents), and *amas* (meaning 50 cents) are still in use.





older than my original estimate. I understand that the State of Kelantan proposes to lend the moulds to Raffles Museum.

Dato' Kaya Budi, a well-known Chinese gentleman of Tumpat, made an interesting discovery at Sungai Pinang (near Kuala Kelantan) on the site of an old Siamese Temple. In a hole occupied by the remains of one of the pillars of the temple he found two coins of the type reproduced on Plates III and IV Fig. 1. He has presented one of these coins to the Raffles Museum.

The third discovery to which Mr. Rentse drew my attention was made by himself at Kubang Labu the old fort already referred to. Ten gold coins were obtained by him either in the course of excavations or were acquired from local people who had found the coins in the fort. Four types of coin were represented in the finds. Three have already been described in this paper. A fourth bears on one side the inscription *Malik al adil* and on the other side *Khalifat al muminin*.

My thanks are due to Mr. Rentse for the description and photographs of the moulds.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF PAHANG'S BENDAHARAS.

By W. LINERAN.

According to Mr. Wilkinson (*History of the Peninsular Malays* 3rd Ed. p. 83) Bendahara 'Ali of Pahang died in 1847. Mr. L. A. Mills (JRASMB., 1925, III, pt. 2, p. 165) states that he died in 1858. From Sir Frank Swettenham's "Independent Malay States of the Malay Peninsula" (JRASSB. 1880, VI, p. 199) it would appear that 'Ali was alive in 1855. Sir Hugh Clifford in the Annual Report on Pahang 1894 says that Bendahara 'Ali died about 1860 and elsewhere he records that he died at Pekan. Not only did that careful historian Mr. Mills base his date 1858 on official records but 1858 fits the commencement of war consequent on Tun 'Ali's death between Wan Ahmad (afterwards Sultan) and his brother Tun Tahir. In JRASMB., 1926, IV, p. 335 I followed Mr. Wilkinson's date; and Dr. Winstedt followed us, he tells me, adding that in the *History of Johore* on p. 98 l. 13 'Ali should be read for Mutahir and on p. 100 lines 32 and 33, should be read 1858 for 1847 and Tahir for Koris.

Dr. Winstedt's *History* (JRASMB., 1932, X, Pt. III, p. 105) corrects my dates (JRASMB., 1926, IV, p. 335) for the deaths of Bendahara Tahir and his son Bendahara Muda Koris. The father died at Sedili on 19 May, 1863, the son four days later, both being buried at Johor Baharu.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY VISITORS TO THE MALAY PENINSULA.

[The following extracts are taken from *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 3rd Edition, London, 1745, printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill for Henry Lintot and John Osborn, at the Golden Ball in Pater-Noster Row, and published in Six Volumes.

2. The first of the travellers was Mr. John Nieuhoff who entered the service of the Dutch West India Company in 1640 in the quality of merchant supercargo, and spent thirteen years in Brazil. In 1653 he made his first voyage to the East Indies. The published extract dealing with the Peninsula records his visit to Malacca on the 30th December, 1660. Mr. Nieuhoff lived for fifteen years in various parts of the East, and lost his life in 1672 on the island of Madagascar. His journals were published posthumously in Dutch by his brother, later translated into English, and included in the above Collection.

3. The second extract is taken from an account of *The Empire of China* originally written in Spanish by Dr. Navarette, Professor of Divinity at Manilla, who touched at Malacca in the year 1669, on his way to Rome.

4. The final account is taken from *A Voyage Round the World* by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri a Doctor of the Civil Law of Naples published originally in Italian. Dr. Careri left his native city on the 13th June, 1693, and proceeded via Turkey and Persia to Goa, where he arrived on the 26th February, 1695. He sailed for Malacca on the 10th May of the same year, having purchased a black slave under licence from the Inquisition. Dr. Careri continued his voyage from Borneo to Macao, spent two years in China, and travelled, via the Phillipine Islands, to Mexico in 1698. After a short stay there, he returned to Europe, and reached Naples on 3rd December, 1699. J. J. Sheehan].

An Extract from Mr. John Nieuhoff's Voyages and Travels to the East Indies.

The Author goes to Malacca.

After we had left Teywan the 11th of December, we arrived the 30th of the same month without any remarkable accident, before the city of Malacca, where we dropt anchor, and found Mr. John Tiiss to be chief director there for our East-India company.

The country and city of Malacca.

The kingdom of Malacca, otherwise Maleja or Maleca, thus called after its capital city, is situate upon the same tract of ground or demi-island, which comprehends the kingdoms of Martevan, Quedam, Peru and some other countries, extending itself as far as Sumatra, the streights of which border upon it to the west and south, as the kingdoms of Pan and Johor do to the east. The kingdom of Malacca is by some historians taken for the Golden Chersonose of Ptolemy, tho' at present it is no demi-island. There are some who affirm, that in former ages Malacca was joined by a streight neck of land to the isle of Sumatra, instead of which you see now a branch of the ocean, which divides itself into two navigable channels; the first of which is called the streights of Sinkapura, because it borders on the east side of the cape of that name; the other is called the channel of Saban, from an island that lies to the west of it. This country extends for about 64 leagues in length, all along the sea-coast, beginning at the island of Cambilan or Zabilan as far as the isle of Beitan, its utmost boundary on that side, or rather it ends in the cape of Sinkapura, 20 leagues from Malacca.

Its capital city.

Its capital city is likewise call'd Malacca, being the same in former time call'd Takola; it lies under 2 deg. 30 min. of northern latitude, opposite to Sumatra, in a bay at the ascent of a hill, on the west side of the river Muar (otherwise call'd Gaze and Tyga and Kroisant, or as the Dutch express it Krisorant) which having its rise deep in the country, divides the castle from the city, and washing its walls, falls with a rapid current into the sea. Cross this river is a strong bridge built of stone with several arches: This city is very large in compass, being not many years before surrounded with a wall of square stones and bastions, by the Dutch. It is very populous, the houses being built very close, though it has some very broad and handsome streets, which are planted on both sides with trees. In the midst of the city is a hill with a very fair

church dedicated to St. Paul, on the top of it, where divine service is performed in Dutch: The steeple, church and monasteries founded here by the Portuguese are much decay'd. Most of the houses here are built of strong bamboo-canapes, which are very durable in dry weather, tho' there are also some stone houses here; they are generally not very large, and low, provided with small apartments and slenderly furnished.

Malacca when taken by the Portuguese. The city of Malacca was in 1510 taken by Albuquerque, the Portuguese general, in the following manner:

One Manuel, or rather Mahomet, an Arabian by birth, being at that time king of Malacca entered into a league with Albuquerque, which he broke soon after, putting all the Portugueses to the sword. Albuquerque soon after appeared before the city, and attack'd it unexpectedly, whilst the king and his courtiers were feasting at the wedding of his daughter; the Portugueses set fire to one end of the city, notwithstanding which, the inhabitants defended themselves like desperate men, even the women untiring the houses, and giving what assistance they could for the defence of the place; but at last the Portugueses having fought their way thro' the armed elephants, they entered the city, forcing the king to fly into the wilderness, where he died. They got a vast booty and above 2,000,000 crowns in money. The Portugueses were very careful to fortify the town by a strong castle, and built several fine churches and monasteries; they had five parochial churches, and monasteries in great numbers. Among the rest, the Jesuits had erected a noble college here, with magnificent apartments; they were very liberal, and received all strangers travelling in those parts. There was a church here dedicated to our lady, where they say Xaverius preached often, and performed great miracles. Upon a hill, within the city the Capuchins had a monastery; whilst the Roman Catholicks were in possession of it, it was erected into a bishoprick, under the Archbishop of Goa. Not many years before the Portugueses made themselves masters of it, it was no more than a village, but by the Javanese made a city.

Malacca attack'd by Dutch.

The Dutch admiral Cornelius Matelief 1605, appeared with 11 ships and 1,300 soldiers before the city of Malacca, where at that time Don Furtado de Mendoza, a brave soldier, was commander in chief. The first thing he did was to seize upon four ships that lay in the road; afterwards he set fire to the

su-burbs, and batter'd the place for two or three months, which occasioned great famine and mortality within the city. But the Portugueses, who were sensible of the importance of this place, sent a considerable fleet from Goa to their relief, which engaging with ours, a small fight ensued in which the Portugueses and the Dutch lost two ships each; at last the Portugueses finding the Dutch resolved to board them, retired under the castle, but were so closely pursued by Matelief, that he ruined their whole fleet, consisting of 16 galleots, 4 galeasses, and 14 smaller vessels, with 3,000 men on board them.

The Dutch take Malacca. The king of Johor besieged the city of Malacca in 1606, with 60,000 men, the Portugueses having maintained themselves there till 1640, when the Dutch after a siege of six months made themselves masters of it; after the Portugueses had been in possession of it 130 years. The Dutch found here besides a vast booty, a great cannon which carried a shot of 64 pounds weight, since which time the Dutch have left no stone unturn'd to stock this city with all sorts of necessaries as well as with inhabitants, both Dutch and Indians. The origin and progress of Malacca is this, described by Barros and some other historians.

The origin of Malacca. The foundation of Malacca was laid about 250 years before the arrival of the Portugueses in the Indies. About that time one Sangesinga reign'd in Sinkapura, situate under 30 min. of northern latitude, and in the neighbouring country of Java, one Paravisa, who at his death left two sons under the guardianship of his own brother, their uncle, but he having found means to murder the eldest, usurped the throne; at which some of the noble Javanese being highly disgusted, did with Paramisora, their late king's youngest son, fly to Sinkapura, where they met with a kind reception from Sangesinga, but it was not long before Paramisoram, in combination with his Javanese, murdered Sangesinga, and put himself in possession of his kingdom. The king of Siam being highly exasperated at the treachery committed against Sangesinga, his vassal and son-in-law, forced the Javanese to quit the country, who being now obliged to seek for a new habitation, settled themselves near the river Muar, where they built a strong hold, call'd Pagopago; besides the Javanese, Paramisora was follow'd by 2,000 others, such as they call Cellati, who lived upon fishing and robbing; but tho' they had been very instrumental in resettling him in Sinkapura, he did not think fit to receive them within

the body of his new built city; which made them settle their colony about three or four leagues from the river Muar, not far from whence Malacca now lies; where they joined with the inhabitants, who were half savages; since which time their language is call'd the Malaga language. But when they began to be straighten'd for room, some of them settled themselves about a quarter of a league from thence, on a hill call'd Bitan, surrounded with a large plain: Paramisora being taken with the convenience and pleasant situation of this place abandoned Pagopago and transplanted his colony near this place, which afterwards was call'd Malacca, *i.e.* a banished person, in memory of the exiled Javanese; and in process of time, all the traffick of Sinkapura was transferr'd to Malacca. Saquan Dorsa, son of Paramisora, succeeded him in the kingdom and having submitted himself as a vassal to the king of Siam, reduced the whole country of Sinkapura to the east, as far as Puto on the isle of Zambilan, which lies west of Malacca, a tract of land of forty leagues in length. The successors of Saquan Dorsa found means to shake by degrees the yoke of the king of Siam, and to make themselves foreign kings, especially after they were by the Persians, and those of Surat, brought over to the Mahometan religion. The king of Siam 1502, about nine years before the Portugueses became masters of Siam, did attack the king of Malacca with a fleet of 200 sail, aboard of which were 6,000 soldiers, under the conduct of Laosomaya Privan, this admiral and governor of Ligoor, but this fleet was miserably scatter'd by a tempest, and many of his ships fell into the hands of the Mahometans by treachery.

Its traffick.

The harbour of Malacca is one of the finest in all the Indies, being navigable at all the seasons of the year, a convenience belonging scarce to any other in the Indies. It is most conveniently situated for traffick, for there you may to this day see vast numbers of merchants ships coming from Bengal, Coromandel, Banda, Java, Sumatra, Siam, and in short from all parts of the Indies. Whilst the Portugueses were in possession of it, this city was very famous for its traffick and riches in gold, precious stones, and all other rarities of the Indies; Malacca being the key of the China and Japan trade, and of the Malacca islands and Sunda. In short, Malacca was the richest city in the Indies, next to Goa and Ormus. Before the Dutch had made themselves masters of Malacca, a ship was sent every year thither from Portugal, which setting out a month

before their East-India fleet, and taking its direct course thither, without staying in any place, except in case of necessity, used to freight there, and return with a richer cargo than any other ship ever did.

Great passage
thro' the
streights of
Malacca.

All the ships that came from the north, viz. of China, Japan, Siam, Cambodia, Tonking and Manilha, and are bound for the west, to wit, to the coast of Coromandel, Bengal and other places thereabouts, as likewise those coming from the west to the north, must pass thro' the streights of Malacca or Sinkapura, and consequently by Malacca, as I told you before. The Portugueses used to take 10 per cent. custom of all ships passing that way, whereby they got vast riches, but the Dutch East-India company has abolished this, looking upon it as an unreasonable imposition, and are contented to traffick there. Malacca is a country producing but little itself, but must be look'd upon as the staple of the Indies, whither all precious commodities are brought from China, the Molucca and other neighbouring islands, from Bengal, Coromandel, Banda, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Pegu and other places. The island of Sumatra furnishes them with gold, pepper and other merchandises; from Ligoor, Pera, Queda, Oudjang and Salang, they have vast quantities of tin, which is bought up in those places by the factors of the company, and sent to Malacca, from whence it is transported to the coast of Coromandel, to Bengal, Persia and Surat, and sold for ready money. The Chinese bring hither vast stores of silk and porcelain, damasks, brocades, sattins, musk, rhubarb, iron, salt-peter, fine silver, pearls great and small, ivory and China fans, which they exchange for pepper, frankincense, stuffs of Camboya, coral wrought and unwrought, painted callicoes of Palakatte, and white callicoes of Bengal, cinnabar, quick-silver, and such other drugs as come from Camboya. The island of Java supplies them with rice, oxen, sheep, stags-flesh and pork; in short there is such a vast traffick and concourse of merchants here, that from thence probably it got the name of the Golden Chersonesus among the antients; Malacca being certainly the richest harbour that can be seen; for formerly, and even to this day, the merchants were so rich here that they used to compute by no less than by bars of gold, of which a vast quantity is found near the rivers and in the mountains to the west, to wit, on the famous rivers Kedan, Peren or Peragh. The Mahometans living along the coast, used formerly to trade hither with linen and some other commodities, not so much of late years.

neither is the pepper trade so considerable here now, as in former days, since the Dutch East-India company have settled their factories on the eastern coast of Sumatra, which produces great quantities of pepper. However, ships are sometimes detained, by reason of the contrary Monzon or season winds.

Coin of
Malacca

Formerly they had no other coin but what was made of tin at Malacca, being of great weight, but little value; or rather they exchanged their commodities for gold and silver by weight; but now they coin both gold and silver, a piece of eight being worth commonly two gilders 11 stivers. They have two sorts of weights viz, the great and small bar: The great bar consists of 200 Kattys, each Katty containing 26 Tayls, or 38½ ounces Portugueses weight, a Tayl being an ounce and a half: The small bar comprehends likewise 200 Kattys, each Katty comprehending 22 Tayls. According to the computation of others, a bar of Malacca contains 200 Kattys Aetshyns, or three Chinese Pikol, each Pikol computed at 122 pound weight, making altogether 366 pound weight. The great bar or weight is made use of when they weigh pepper, cloves, nutmegs, mace, white and red sandals, indigo, allum, eagles-wood and civet; with the lesser weight, quick-silver, copper, leaf-gold, oil of nutmegs, benzoin, camphire and such like commodities. The city of Malacca is inhabited by many Dutch, but for the most part by Mestices and Kastices, some Chinese, Pagans and Jews, for the convenience of traffick.

The
Malayars.

The Malayars or natives of Malacca are tawny, with long black hair, great eyes and flat noses; they deduce their origin from the Javanese, but their eyes are quite different, they are for the most part naked, wearing only a piece of stuff wrapt about the middle, with their arms and legs naked.

Their cloaths.

Their only ornament being gold bracelets and earings set with precious stones, some of which are twisted in their locks, which are very long. The women are extravagantly proud here, expecting more reverence than any other Indian women.

Kakerlakken

There is also another peculiar sort of men in Malacca, called by the Dutch Kakerlakken (from a certain monstrous creature in the Indies of the same name) who are blind by day, and can only see by night. They can tell money, work, and do any other thing in the dark, which they cannot do by day-light,

which they pass away for the most part in sleeping, and seldom rise till sunset. In shape and proportion of their limbs, as well as by their complexion, they resemble the Europeans, having commonly grey eyes; whereas all the eastern nations have black and dark brown eyes. Their hair is inclining to yellow, and of such a length among the women, that it reaches down to their hips; their feet are bent inward. The same kind is likewise found in some other places in the Indies, and in Africa.

The Malaya tongue.

The language used at Malacca is called the Malaya tongue, from the natives of the country, being very famous throughout the East-Indies. For the general concourse of so many nations, different in their languages, has put them upon a necessity of compiling a certain language, composed of the best and choicest words of all the rest, which therefore is accounted the neatest and most agreeable of the East-Indies, which is the reason that not only the neighbouring, but also far distant nations that trade with Malacca, are desirous to learn it, and look upon it as a great accomplishment. For the better encouragement of this language, and the benefit of their officers and factors, the Dutch East-

Their religion.

India company has caused a dictionary both in the Malaya and Dutch tongues to be published. Most of the Malayers are either Christians or Mahometans, tho' they are likewise some Pagans and Jews settled at

The country.

Malacca, for the conveniency of commerce. The coast of Malacca is a flat or marshy country, and consequently not extraordinary wholesome; but deeper in the country are many hills and wildernesses which are plainly discovered at sea. It produces but little for the sustenance of life, except what is brought forth in gradens, and what grows among the mountains, where you meet with some rice and pease; the defect of which is supply'd by vast numbers of small vessels, which come every day from Bengal and Sumatra, and bring thither rice and other eatables. However, they are pretty well stored with such fruits as commonly grow in the Indies. The fruit Durions grows much better and larger than in any other part of the Indies: They have likewise Ananas, Jambos, Mangoes, Karamolas and Papajas; they have whole woods of coco-trees. Here grows a certain tree call'd the mourning-tree by the Portugueses, because its flowers close up in the night-time. Here you may meet also with cinnamon-trees, but not very many, neither do they approach in goodness to those of Ceylon. But of Kalamback or Aloes-wood and

Benzoin they have great plenty. Here are to be found some Indian fruits, peculiar only to this place, but no pears, apples, plums, cherries, or any such like European fruits. Oxen, cows, sheep and horses are likewise very scarce here, which are brought thither a great way out of the country, and are seldom very fat. Formerly the country hereabouts did abound in wild beasts of all sorts, such as tygers, elephants, etc. which were so ravenous that they used to break in the night time into the houses of the inhabitants, who for their better security, used to sleep upon trees; but since it has been so well peopled by the Dutch, this sort of wild beasts are but seldom heard of.

Cape Rachado and Barcelai. Just by Malacca is the cape or point of land call'd Rachado, and the cape of Barcelai, being a very high mountain near a point of the land. Not far from Malacca is a very large mountain call'd Madian, which by reason of the vast quantities of salt-peter it contains within its bowels, 1646, did break out with such a terrible noise and earthquakes, as if the day of judgment was at hand.

Sinkapura. Sinkapura lies on the most southern point of all Asia, about half a degree to the north of the line, and 20 leagues from Malacca. This cape has imparted its name to the streights of Sinkapura. The country of Sinkapura had, before Malacca was built, its own kings, and was the chiefest place of trade on this coast, being much frequented by the Chinese merchants, and those of Camboya. The mountain near the streights of Sinkapura, bearing the same name, produces most excellent diamonds. About Sinkapura is a certain nation, which with their whole families live always at sea in their small vessels; they are called Saletes, live upon fishing, and are subject to the king Jor. About two leagues beyond the streights of Sinkapura is the river Johor, at the entrance of which you see two mountains, or rather high islands shaped like sugar loaves; one is four times bigger than the other, lying N.N.E. as you enter the river, and the other N.E. On the other side of the river you discover a high hill, tho' the southside of the river is a champaign country. There is 10 fathom water at the mouth of this river.

The isle of rocks.

To the south of Malacca is a small isle, of about half a league in compass, by the Portugueses call'd Ilha das Pedras, or the isle of Rocks, and has very good fresh water.

About half a cannon shot from the city, another small island call'd Malacca, and by the Portugueses Ilha das Naos, or the Ship Island. Two leagues from Malacca is a pretty isle call'd Sapta. That vast point or tract of land on which the country of Malacca or Malaya lies, being the most southern of all the East-Indies, comprehends likewise several other kingdoms and cities to wit, Patany, Pahan, Pera, Queda, Johor or Jor, Ligoor; and farther to the north the kingdom and city of Tanassery. We will give you a short account of the kingdoms of Johor, Pupany, Ligoor and Pahan.

The kingdom of Jor or Johor. The kingdom of Jor or Johor islands indebted for its name to its capital city, call'd by some Goer or Goera, and Joar or Goar or Gohor. It is situate at the very streights of Malacca, bordering in part upon the kingdom of Malacca; and on the other side upon the kingdom of Pan or Pahan. The antient city of Johor or Jor (call'd in some maps Guar) was very and magnificently built, but was in 1603 destroyed by the Portugueses, who left only a few houses standing, which were immediately inhabited again. The king of Johor caused in 1609 another city to be built, somewhat higher up the river above Johor; this he call'd Batusabar, towards the building of which, the Dutch under their admiral Peter Verhooven contributed 3,000 pieces of eight, out of the booty they had taken from the Portugueses ships coming from Makao, near the cape Rachado. Most of the chief inhabitants of the old city of Jor retired from thence to Batusabar; a half-day's journey from whence is Sedalli, near the sea-side. It is a very fertile country, abounding in lemons, and citrons as big as a man's head, Bananaes, Batataes, Ananaes, and other Indian fruits. They have also great store of pepper, cinnamon, bufflers, cows, stags, wild boars, and divers sorts of monkeys and birds, besides some sea-monsters.

The disposition of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants are naturally brave, but very lascivious, liers, great dissemblers, and proud beyond measure. Their complexion is inclining to a light blue with broad faces, crooked noses, and very black teeth, which they acquire by chewing the weed Betel, black teeth being accounted a great ornament among them. The common people go quite naked, having only a piece of stuff to cover their members, which hangs down to their toes. The rich and better sort wear a kind of jackets made of blue, green or red callico, or what colour they please, they are shaped like our shirts, with

wide sleeves are open before, and reach only to their knees. They have also two silken strings of the same colour with the jackets, one serves for a girdle, the other for a head string. They paint their nails yellow, and the greater quality they pretend to the longer they wear their nails. The richer sort commonly wear a poniard on their side, enriched with precious stones. Their king has many other petty kings, his vassals, under his jurisdiction. The king of Jor or Johor in 1606 attack'd the city of Malacca with 60,000 men, which shews him to be a potent prince, and in the taking of the city of Jor, the Portugueses got 1,500 brass pieces of cannon: in 1608, Ratispont, the then king of Jor, being about 30 years of age, came aboard the Dutch fleet with 30 of his wives, he had three gold chains set with precious stones about his neck, and his poniard was likewise enriched with sapphires and diamonds, valued at 50,000 gilders. The inhabitants are one half Mahometans, the other Pagans: 1609, one John de Paratuan was king of Jor, he was stiled the Great King, being likewise king of Malacca, and Raya Sybrang, i.e. prince of the other side of the river. In 1611, the king of Azem sent back the brother of the king of Jor, with a fleet of 36 ships, and a convoy of 2,000 men, with abundance of cannon and ammunition, in order to assist in the rebuilding of the city of Jor. It was generally reported, that the king of Azem having given his sister in marriage to him, did intend to set him upon the throne, instead of his brother, who then reigned.

The isle of Linga.

Linga is an island under the jurisdiction of the king of Johor, who has a governor there; it produces abundance of Zagu, but no rice; in 1606 it had about 3,000 inhabitants.

The kingdom of Pan or Pahan.

The kingdom of Pan or Pahan, is by the Portugueses call'd Paon, and by others, after the Arabians, Phaan: it being a custom among the Mahometans Arabians to pronounce phē instead of p. To the north it borders upon the kingdom of Patane, and adjoins to that of Johor, as well as to the streights of Malacca. The city of Pahan is situate about a league from the sea shore, being inhabited only by the nobility, the common people dwelling in the suburbs. It is not very large, but surrounded with a wall of the trunks of trees joined close together, of about four fathoms high, strengthened on each corner with a bastion, but not fill'd with earth. The streets are inclosed on both sides with hedges of

reeds, and planted with coco and other trees, resembling rather some gardens adjoining to one another in the suburbs, than a well regulated city, the houses being generally of reed and straw, only the king's palace is of wood. The river of Pahan is very broad but not navigable by galleys except at high water. The country round about is very low, and produces about 300 bahars of pepper; as likewise Palo de Aquila, or eagle-wood, Kalamback-wood and camphire, but not so good as that of Borneo, gold (but very coarse), nutmegs, mace, Sapan-wood, diamonds, Pedro de Porco, or hogs stones, which are accounted a greater antidote than the bezoar stone. Deeper into the country are abundance of elephants. The inhabitants are the greatest imposters in the world. The king is tributary to the king of Siam, but after Albuquerque had conquered Malacca, he sent his deputies to Pahan, to oblige that king to promise fealty to him. At Pahan great quantities of baskets are made and sold, they are better than those made in Java, but not so good as the Portuguese. They also cast great guns here of 3,000 pounds weight. The inhabitants are partly Mahometans, partly Pagans. Their king who reigned in 1612 had married the youngest sister of the queen of Patane. The two sisters having not seen one another in 28 years, the queen of Patane sent to the king of Pahan, to desire leave for her sister, his spouse, to come to see her, which the king refusing, she laid an embargo upon all the ships loaden with rice, and bound from Siam, Campaja, Lugor, and other places to Pahan; and immediately sent a fleet of 70 ships, on board of which were 4,000 men, with strict orders to bring along with them the queen of Pahan, whether the king were willing or not, but it was not long before the king of Pahan, with the queen his spouse, and two young children, being forced by famine and a revolt among his subjects to leave the country, came to visit the queen of Patane, where they met at first but with a cold reception, not one of all the queen's court giving the king of Pahan as much as one visit, but caused all his dogs to be killed he being not able to keep them any longer. Some days after matters began however to look with a better face; for the 1st of August the queen of Patane invited the king of Pahan to a most sumptuous feast, where she diverted him with several Indian women dancers. The king of Pahan returned not long after with his queen, the sister of the queen of Patane, into his country, but carried away with him no presents to make him

amends for the charge he had been at, having spent almost all he had. The king of Pahan who reigned in 1607, was then about 40 years of age, and his son had married the daughter of the king of Queda.

The kingdom
of Patane

The kingdom of Patane or Patany, having derived its name from its capital city, borders to the south upon Pahan, being situate upon the same eastern coast, to the north upon Siam and the kingdom of Ligor or Ligor; these two kingdoms being incorporated into one. The city of Patane is situate under 7 deg. 56 min. of northern latitude, not far from the sea and surrounded to the land side by bogs. The harbour is about half a league from the city, which is about half a league in length, and very narrow, fortified with high-wooden pallisadoes put close together, according to the custom of these countries. The houses are artificially built of wood and canes, and very lightsome. The suburbs are likewise much longer than broad, and are incompass'd on the backside by a pleasant rivulet. The royal palace and court where most persons of quality live, are environ'd with pallisado-work, in the nature of a Palanck; the Mahometan church is a stately edifice of brick-work, gilt very richly within, and adorned with pillars, curiously wrought with figures. In the midst close to the wall is the pulpit, carv'd and gilt all over, unto which the priests are only permitted to ascend by four large steps. They have also several temples dedicated to their Pagan idols, among which three excel the rest. When the Dutch in 1602 settled first here, they saw in one of those temples belonging to the subjects of the king of Siam, a gilt statue resembling a man but of the bigness of a horse, with one hand down and the other upwards. On each side stood a very large dragon gilt, with two stone statues, to wit, a man on the one, and a woman on the other side with their hands lift up to heaven. The same they saw in the second, with this difference only, that one half of it was only gilt, the other painted red. In the third was one in the same posture, with a gilt streak cross the breast; and behind the altar of the great idol, was another lesser statue resembling a man, with a large horn in the forehead; this idol their priests say, represents the Great God.

Temperature
of the air

The climate is very temperate and wholesome here, notwithstanding it lies near the line. Their summer begins in February, and continues nine months viz. till the end of October, during which season they have

two different winds, to wit, by day from the sea, and by night from the land side. In November, December, and January is their winter, when it blows and rains so violently from the north-east, that there is no stirring for ships out of the harbour till February, when the wind turning to the east the rains cease, and the fair season returns. The country of Patane is very fruitful, abounding in rice and many other fruits, the chiefest of which are the Durions, Mangestons, Ananas, Lancrats, Ramboutans, Pisangs, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, and a peculiar kind of lemons, call'd Gibol Lemons, being transplanted hither from China. Each month here produces its peculiar fruits, tho' those of certain months are preferable before the rest. The grounds are ploughed with bufflers or oxen, which they sow with rice: They also plant good store of pepper, but cannot sell it so cheap here as in some other parts of the East-Indies. The woods and wildernesses are stock'd with wild creatures, such as hares, rabbits, (but not so big as ours) stags, wild boars, tigers, bufflers, elephants, apes, monkies, geese and ducks, (which lay eggs twice every day) and turtle-doves as finely coloured as the best parrots. The wild hogs do incredible mischief among the rice, which obliges the country-men to watch in the field in the night time; when they shoot or otherwise kill them, they bury their carcasses under ground; the Mahometans (for such those of Patan and Malaya are) being forbid the use of hogs flesh, neither will they permit any body else to eat it.

How they
catch the
elephants.

The elephants, as I am credibly inform'd, are catch'd in the following manner: They ride on the back of a tame large elephant into the woods, whom they let loose there; as soon as he meets with a wild elephant he ingages him, and whilst their snouts are intangled, some come from behind the wild elephants and twist a rope round his hind legs, and so keep him either to render him useful for the wars, or else kill him for his teeth's sake, which are in great esteem in China.

The sea hereabouts produces great store of crawfishes, oysters and tortoises: and the same drugs, metals, and precious stones, that are found in the kingdom of Pahan, are likewise to be met with here.



Their
traffick

From Bengal and Malacca they send cloths to Patane; from Java sandel-wood; from Borneo camphire, slaves, wax, and bezoar-stones, from Siam the inhabitants of Patane are furnished with gold, rice, salt and lead; from Stampa and Camboja with slaves, cotton, Kalamback, and the finest aloes-wood; from China with white and yellow silk, gauzes, damasks, sattins, porcelain, iron and copper; from Japan with scymitars, copper and such like commodities. Many things are also transported hither that are bought up in other places by foreigners: as from Amboyna and Banda, nutmegs, mace and cloves; from Timor, sandel-wood; from Jamby and Andragny, pepper; which they fetch likewise from Champor, Libor, Pahan, Mordyllion, and Ligor: Pegu supplies Patane with abundance of precious stones; there are also many things exported from thence by the foreign merchants: those of Lahor and Pahan provide themselves here with rice, salt, oxen, fowls and other eatables; those of Malacca transport the bezoar stones; those of Borneo, iron, steel and copper; the Siamese, all sorts of clothings and pepper; the Chineses, pepper, camphire, white and yellow sandel-wood, skins, ivory, bufflers-hours, and such like; the Japoneses, stags-skins, tin, lead and silk.

The country of Patane is much more powerful in shipping than Johor, Pahan, or any of the circumjacent kingdoms: They are govern'd by a king, who as well as the king of Malaya is tributary to the king of Siam; their usual yearly tribute consisting of a flower wrought with gold, some fine cloths, velvets and scarlets; the king's chief counsellors are called Mentry.

This kingdom was in 1602 under the government of a queen, after the decease of her husband, she being then but 15 years of age. Her name was Pratie, she used to keep constantly within the court among her ladies of honour, of whom she had a great number; she did not allow them to marry, but connived at their amorous intrigues. Wherever she went abroad to take the air, (which indeed happened but very seldom) she was mounted on a very fine elephant, and attended by 2,000 nobles and great officers, all clad in her deceased royal spouse's liveries, with his coat of arms upon them. Before they returned, she gave them always a splendid entertainment, and so came with the same cavalcade back to her court. The country of Patane is so populous, as to be able to bring 180,000 armed men into the field, the city and suburbs of Patane alone being to furnish 10,000 men.

Their
language.

Divers languages are in vogue, viz. the Malayan, Siamese, Patane and the Chinese; but the first is most used here, as well as in most other parts of the Indies. The king of Patane married his daughter to the eldest son of the king of Johor, (he having six in all) who with his youngest brother lived at the court of Patane, but the youngest being ingaged in an illegal commerce with his brother's spouse, he kill'd them both, according to the custom of the country, which punishes adultery with death; notwithstanding which, the king of Patane, to revenge his daughter's death, caused his son-in-law, the eldest son of the king of Johor, to be slain; John de Paratuan (= Yang di-pertuan) and Regia (= Raja) Sabrang, two brothers, and both kings of Johor, being, not without reason, highly exasperated at this proceeding, sent one Magat Mongor Hoch, their ambassador, to solicit a powerful aid from the states general against the king of Patane; but the ambassador dying at sea put a stop to the design.

The isle of
Dingding.

Having despatched my business here, we set sail the next day to a certain island call'd Dingding, abounding in fuel and most excellent fresh water. It lies about 30 leagues to the north of Malacca, being covered all over with very tall trees, which grow on the hills. We arrived here the 10th of January 1661, and immediately after our landing, fell to the cutting down of trees, among the rest we endeavoured to pick out a certain kind of tree the wood of which is a pale red, but to our great amazement could meet with none, till at last we discovered our error, to wit, that the pith was only red, but all the other wood round about it of a different colour. This wood is much valued by the Indians for its beauty, of which they make many curious pieces. The fresh water which runs down from the rocks, claims the preference before any in Indies; and this isle has likewise the conveniency of a good bay, where ships may ride safely at anchor. On the east-side it has another bay call'd the Cox Bay, where we used sometimes to catch as much fish at a draught as our chaloop was able to carry.

Is destitute of
inhabitants.

It is destitute of inhabitants and all sorts of wild creatures, except wild boars, which swim over thither from the continent to feed upon a certain root that grows there, nevertheless it abounds in water fowls more than any other place of the Indies. Here is a certain kind of birds call'd by the Dutch Shuies Birds, being of the bigness of a Storex, the head being without

feathers. Here are also great quantities of tortoises and oysters, the last of which are often seen fastened to the branches of trees, which hang sometimes above, sometimes under water.

The clearness of the water having invited us to take a turn at swimming, I found something sticking to one of my legs, which when I look'd upon, I found to be a sea-apple, and struck it off; but the sting remaining in the flesh occasioned a great inflammation and pain, which was not appeased till a considerable time after the sting was taken out.

They leave it. After we had provided ourselves with what this place could afford us, we set sail again the 14th of January; as we were sailing the same day along the coast of Sumatra, our trumpeter catch'd a stone-beam of about three feet long, which appearing very fine to the eye, we ordered the cook to dress it for the table of the cabin. We were all so greedy, that when it was brought in, we ask'd the cook whether he was sure he had kept none behind? which he took so ill, that he answered us, whether we look'd upon him as a thief? But it was not long after dinner; before all those that had dined in the cabin were seized with such a giddiness in their heads, that they were not able to sit upright: I was first who cried out, we have certainly eat a poisonous fish; but our surgeon having no proper remedies aboard, we sent our challop to the ship the Leerdam, from whence being furnish'd with vomits, we were by the frequent use of them, after a sickness of 14 days restored to our former health. During our sickness our best diversion was, that being informed how the cook was as sick as any of us, we were convinced, that notwithstanding his great pretence of honesty, our suspicion was not ill grounded: Which verified our old proverb, that the cook is commonly the last who dies for want of victuals. Two cats that had eaten the bones of this fish died soon after, though some tobacco-water had been given them to occasion a vomiting, but none of us died; some few however were troubled with a ringing distemper afterwards.

Reason of the poison of this fish. It is not easy to imagine what could be the reason of this disaster, the sea-bream being otherwise a fish both toothsome and wholesome, unless we supposed this bream to have fed upon some poisonous fish, such as those call'd by the Dutch Seaquallan, which are very poisonous in those hot countries; for if they touch but

your flesh, they cause an immediate inflammation; their flesh as soft as a jelly; they are of the bigness of a trencher, or somewhat less, have red and purple spots on their backs, and eight teats below on their bellies; At certain seasons of the year, the seas about Toutekorin, and near other places on the coast of Malabar, are so full of them, that they are obliged to desist from fishing. But before we proceed farther in our voyage, it will be requisite to give you a short account of the isle of Sumatra.

An Account of the Empire of China.

By DR. R. F. F. DOMINICK FERNANDEZ NAVARETTE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

My Voyage to Malacca, and Stay there.

I. The captain and pilot of the ship's name was Stephen Diaz, a man in great repute at Macao, but he lost much of it this voyage. There are many ill-grounded opinions; because four or five say such a man is an able pilot, or good soldier, they presently applaud him as such, and when occasion offers, he appears to be a mere ignoramus. Certain it is, he was an honest man and good Christian; so that doubtless God favours him, which is good knowledge and good fortune enough. He never swore nor cursed, a thing rare enough in an European and Portuguese sailor. When angry he would say, I vow my soul to God. He pray'd incessantly, his beads were never out of his hands, and he delighted in hearing talk of spiritual things. He offer'd me all he had aboard; I stood not in need of it, but was thankful for his good will, and did him all the service I could. When the Tartars oppress'd Macao, he put to sea, and to save his ship and men's lives, he went to Manila, which port he came into upon the security of a pass he had from the Governor D. James Salcedo; who did not observe it, but took his ship. All men disapprov'd of this action, and when that governor was seiz'd, he that succeeded him, restored the ship to the right owner, and he return'd in it to Macao in August 69. I had good accommodation given me in the great cabin, where there were some other passengers, who all were extremely kind to me. The first night he steer'd east, and then tack'd and stood away to the south, thinking he had left the flats of Pulisisi astern (they are famous in that sea, and extend below Camboxa) here it was he began to lose the reputation of being an able sea-man. A great pilot who went aboard as a passenger, said to him, Captain, how can you expect in one night's sail to come up with the flats along the shore? The pilot still fell off to leeward, which was making up to the flats. One night when the pilot was gone to rest, after having given his orders to the steerman: the pilot who was a passenger, his name Vincent Fernandez, ask'd for his sword, and bid his man take his spear, and be on the watch; he was persuaded we should be upon the flats, and design'd to betake himself to the boat. He came up softly without any noise to the bittake, and said to the steerman. We are running right upon the flats, pray bear up eight points to windward; and if the pilot says any thing, tell him the ship flew from the helm. Under God this precaution sav'd our lives, for notwithstanding that bearing away eight points one morning,

we found ourselves within a stone's throw of the point of the flats, the current running off it, we were all much frightened. Every day the rosary, salve, litany, and other prayers were said kneeling, few days passed without saying mass, we had frequent sermons and exhortations, and often going to confession and communion. We arriv'd at the island Pulocondor, which is large and well wooded; the natives came out to us with some refreshment of fruit; they brought with them a little animal the Portugueses call perguiza, that is, sloth; it was very strange and oddly shap'd, its slow motion and looks seem'd to be the very emblem of sloth. It brought forth a young one aboard, the young one clung fast to the dam's belly, and she with it hanging crept up the shrouds extraordinary leisurely.

2. We made thence for the strait of Sincapuera; our pilot had never pass'd it; we came within musket-shot, and no sign of a passage appear'd: he was about to tack and steer away for the new strait call'd del Gouvernador, which is wider, and at present most people go that way. Some aboard were satisfied the strait was there, as having passed it sometimes; but honest Stephen Diaz was so positive, he would believe no body. At a point of land which conceal'd the passage, there was a great number of fishermen call'd Salsetes, who always live upon the water, and in their boats carry their wife, children, cats, dogs, hens, etc. as I mention'd in the first book many liv'd in China. One of the boats made to us, the master of it came aboard and carried us thro' very safe. That country belongs to the king of Jor, who has abundance of pepper. Having discover'd the passage, which we admir'd to see how close nature had hid and conceal'd it, we sail'd easily along. I had heard it said at Canton, that when ships sail'd thro' there, the yard-arms hit against the trees on both sides, and that the current was so violent, it whirl'd a ship about with all her sails abroad. The first is a mere fiction, the second is false; though perhaps when the south-west winds reign there may be something of it, but it is not likely, considering the position of the continent and islands about it. The passage is scarce a bow-shot in width, two ships cannot pass it board by board; it presently grows wider, and abundance of islands appear. Our obstinate pilot would needs keep close under the shore; he lost the channel, and the ship struck upon the sand; being it sprung no leak, we were not much troubled. As soon as this happen'd, abundance of the Salsetes took their posts to observe us, to take their advantage in case the ship were cast away. Practice had made them very expert at it; the flood carried us off safe. On saturday being the eve of the Purification, or Candleras, we came to an anchor in sight of Malaca. I went shore that afternoon, and told the governor I desir'd to make my way thence to Manila, either thro' Siam or Camboya. He would not consent to it; I used all my interest and art, but in vain,

which made me very melancholy: I spoke to the chief Domine, who did all he could for me, but obtain'd nothing. I was in a passion one day, and said to him. So it is then, that your lordships in this place tolerate Gentiles, Mahometans, and all barbarous nations, and will not admit a Spanish religious man for one month, tho' we are at peace with you: what reason is there for it? there is none but their profession and our meanness.

3. That afternoon the stewards of the brotherhood of the Rosary invited me to go up the river at eight of the clock at night, where most of the Christians live, there to sing the salve and litany of our Lady. I could not avoid it, but went; their church was adorn'd: after the rosary, the slave and litany were sung very well, I being in a cope, brought out the image of our blessed Lady, which was a very beautiful one. Then I heard some confessions, and having taken my leave of the people, went away to rest at the house of an honest Portuguese, who was married to a Malaye woman. I was twelve days ashore; the evening and morning was spent in hearing confessions. I said mass every day but one, and administer'd the blessed sacrament: the rest of the day I visited the sick, and that they might all be pleased, said mass one day in one house, and the next in another; thus we secur'd our selves against a French Domine who was watching of us. There was another Portuguese Domine born in Algarve, who was more trusty, and a better friend to his countrymen. At Jacatra, as I was there told again, though I had heard it before, there were two other Domines, they were both of considerable families. It is well-known who the governor was originally, who has govern'd those parts several years.

4. There were about two thousand catholicks in that place, as I was told; the women were extraordinary good Christians, some of the men were so too; many did not confess, because it was easy to them to resort to an Indian clergyman who was disguised there: I am persuaded some were luke-warm in the faith, by reason of their conversing with the Dutch. Heresy, says St. Paul, is like a cancer, it is a plague and poison that insensibly infects. I shed tears as I walked those streets to see that country possessed by enemies of the church, for it is a mere garden, and paradise for worldly pleasure; in spirituals it was once a great colony, and the church has many children there still, but they are among bloody wolves. The women wished they could get away from thence, but are so poor they cannot; those who have some wealth are pleased and satisfied.

5. That place is in two degrees and a half of north latitude; the climate is charming, the place where the catholicks live the best in the world. The coco-trees grow up to the clouds; there are orchards full of orange, limon, and plantane-trees, papagos, xambos, and other sorts of fruit. They have two other places

there, but not so pleasant. The fruit then began to come forwards, there were very good and well-tasted pine-apples. The Christians furnish'd me with several necessaries against I went aboard, and some money given me for masses. Another religious man of my order, took up his lodging in an acquaintance's house; he and I took all the pains we could, and had we staid there much longer, we had found enough to do. Among the rest there was a woman, an extraordinary good Christian, she furnished bread and wine for the masses. She had a daughter whom she had educated with all possible care; yet when grown up, she married a heretick, who soon perverted her, and she prov'd a mortal enemy to catholicks.

6. The Dutch gave good alms even to the catholick poor, but almost oblig'd them to be present at their service. A poor lame man said to me, Father, I cheat them very handsomely, for being lame, as I go up that hill I feign my self lamer, and sit down to rest every step, so that I never get to the top, nor never will. Upon sunday-nights the hereticks make their feasts in the streets. As I was going home with some friends, we found a jolly Dutch man with his table and bottles in the cool air; he invited us, and I accidentally ask'd, Are you married, Sir, in this country? He answer'd me very pleasantly, Yes, father, I married a black; since I cannot eat white bread I take up with brown. Some of us from a catholick's house, saw a Dutchman lash two blackmoor women most cruelly, they seem'd to be catholicks; he had ty'd them to coco-trees, and beat them unmercifully: one of them call'd upon Jesus and Mary, and we saw him for that reason lash her again in a most outrageous manner.

7. Anthony Marinho a Portuguese told me, That Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho had basely lost that place of so great moment and consequence. He that has it commands the Strait, and that place is the general rendezvous for all the kingdoms of India. When all was taken by the Dutch, three fathers remained there; two of them I knew very well, the other who was a Frenchman, dy'd some years since in Europe. They demanded a place where they might administer to the catholicks; the Dutch had sent to Jacatra for orders to give them a church, and it is reported they design'd it should be that of St. Anthony; but the fathers being too impatient of delay, tho' the Dutch themselves advised them to be moderate, they threaten'd the Dutch they would take from them the water of the well of Batachina, which is the best they have, and is always guarded. These threats provok'd the Dutch, who sent them to Jacatra, where they were forbid saying mass. The French father, who was over-zealous even in the opinion of his own brethen, continued saying of it. They grew angry at him, took away a crucifix he had, and the villains burnt it publickly; the father himself was at the foot of the gallows, happy he had he ended his life there.

8. The compass at Malaca is small, but the situation strong. It is encompassed with good walls and bulwarks, it is in the shape of a sugar-loaf, in the upper part stood the house and church of the society; the monastery at present is a magazine: It was a great annoyance to the Portuguses, as they themselves say, that they had not levell'd that eminence. Among the hereticks there was one who always valu'd himself upon his wisdom, tho' he had none; he obstinately urged that woman was more perfect than man, without alledging any reason but his repeated affirmation. He exposed the error he had in his heart; but when the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. For man was not created for woman, but woman for the man; and man is the head over woman, and let woman be subject, etc., were urged against him, he had not one word to say for himself.

9. The hereticks administer baptism and matrimony to the catholicks. I found there some Indians of Manila, they enjoy their liberty, and are free from taxes and other duties that lie upon them in their country.

10. On the 11th of February we sent aboard again, and the 12th with a fair gale left cape Rechade astern, it belongs to Malaca, and is posses by the Hollanders.

They told us at Malaca, the season was too far advanced for us to reach Goa, so that we went in fear and dread. To increase it the more, we had a dead calm in that narrow sea: we cast anchor at sun-setting, and at sun-rising again weigh'd very leisurely. Thus we came to an island uninhabited, call'd Pulo Pinang, well wooded; there we took in water very leisurely. We continued there two days, and one of them the wind blew very fair and we afterwards miss'd it to compass our design.

(The author continues with an account of his voyage to Goa).

A Voyage Round The World.

By DR. JOHN FRANCIS GEMELLI CARERI.

The author's voyage to Malaca.

Monday the 16th, the vessel being under sail, I went aboard. Towards evening came aboard father Emanuel Ferreira a Portuguese missioner to Tunehin, who wore a reverend long beard; father Joseph Condoni, a Sicilian, going to his mission to Cochinchina; which fathers had been summon'd to Rome by his holiness pope Innocent the 11th, because they had refus'd to obey the French bishops and vicars apostolick in those kingdoms, to the great scandal of the Christians, who saw the church-men excommunicate one another, and eight other Jesuits of several nations, who were going to China; besides ten others who went in the vessel of the merchants of Goa, call'd Pumburpa, which carried the lion above-mention'd.

The fathers of the society are in such esteem and reputation in India, that at night the vice-roy came to visit those that were aboard the two ships, and stay'd till mid-night in these two visits. Laying of this opportunity, he himself recommended to the captain, telling him, I was a curious gentleman, that travell'd only to see the world, and therefore he should use me well. His recommendation had but little effect, because the captain, who was bred in China, had quite forgot the Portuguese civility, which in all places I found they practis'd more towards me, than towards their own country-men; nor did he value another man's merit, or qualifications. As soon as the vice-roy was gone they weigh'd anchor, and the vessels were tow'd by several Paraos, which are long boats with sixty oars, and Ballons, which are smaller; the city pilots being aboard, to carry the vessels beyond the flat, which is before the fort of Gaspar Diaz, near which we lay all Tuesday, because the wind blew hard.

Wednesday the 18th the same wind continuing, and the city pilots having no hopes it would fall, weigh'd anchor two hours before day, and began to have the ships tow'd again by the Ballons and Parnos. But the wind rising, to avoid the rock, they both run upon the sand. There being danger that the ship might split at the flood, it being then ebb, every one endeavour'd to carry off his goods, especially money, and to get it ashore; and it would go hard with the city pilots, if once the vessels were stranded, and they did not fly.

I put my baggage aboard a coaster, and leaving my slave with my provisions, went to Goa for a new license from the inquisition, to put the black aboard the coaster, in case the ships that were stranded should be rendered unfit to perform their voyage; which I got with some difficulty for the reasons above alledg'd.

Whilst I was still at Goa, the vice-roy gathering abundance of Paraos and Ballons, went in person to get off the vessels with the flood; which being done, they came up again to take in as much water as they had thrown over aboard to lighten themselves. The honest pilot, and master's mate of our ship had also thrown over the passengers provision and fruit, but not their own: which afterwards they did eat till they were ready to crack. Taking leave again of the fathers Galli and Visconti, I return'd aboard with my baggage, but was not told they had thrown over-aboard three baskets of mine full of Mangos, for had I known it, I would have provided other fruit.

We got not out on Thursday the 19th, through the fault of the city pilots; but about break of day, on Friday the 20th, the wind blowing fair at N.W. our vessel call'd the Rosary, the Pumburpa, and four coasters put out to sea. The Jesuits, as they were the first that went off, so would they be the last to return aboard. The same fair wind continu'd Saturday the 21st and Sunday the 22nd.

Monday the 23rd the pilots by observation found we were in the latitude of Cochin. We had great rains and stormy winds every day and night, but they did not last above an hour. They call these tempests Sumatras, from the island of that name. Holding on our course south, on Tuesday the 24th the pilots judg'd we were in the latitude of cape Comori; which is like that of Good Hope. It is to be observ'd, that in this place they find a most unaccountable work of nature; which is, that at the same time it is winter at Goa, and all along the coast, it is summer upon all the opposite coast, as far as the kingdom of Golconda, and thus in a few hours they go from winter to summer; which is experimentally known to be true every day, by the natives of Madure, Tiar, Tanjaur, Gingi, Madrastapatian, the people of the Naiches, and other pagan princes.

Wednesday the 25th making an observation, we found ourselves in the latitude of cape Galli in the island of Ceylon, which was joyful news to all aboard,

as being then sure they should continue their voyage; for had the south wind started up before we reach'd that place, we could have gone no further, but must have run away to northward, as happen'd to two ships of China, which set out in the year 1693, and put in to refit after the storm, the one at Damam, and the other at Bombaim. On the contrary, being once in the latitude of cape Galli, no wind could put us by our voyage. We were here according to the pilot's computation, six hundred miles from Goa.

Ceylon island The island of Ceylon, besides its rich cinnamon, which is carry'd all the world over, has the best elephants, as was said above, and a mountain that produces rock crystal, of which at Goa they make buttons, beads, and other things.

Bengala
kingdom

Thursday the 26th we found our selves in the latitude of 6 degrees opposite to the bay of Bengala; and all the mouths of the river Ganges running into it, whilst at the same time the natural current of the water is from south to north, that sea is very rough. This made the ship often lie athwart the waves, and kept us all continually watching for fear. This kingdom of Bengala is accounted the most fruitful the Mogul has, by reason of its rivers. It has a great trade for silk, callico and other stuffs. Finding our selves in this latitude we stood to the eastward, and on Friday the 27th were off the Maldivian islands. Saturday the 28th the same fair wind continu'd, but with the same rolling. Sunday the 29th the wind held on, and a sailor dying was thrown over board. Monday the 30th we were becalm'd, but Tuesday the last of the month the wind came up again, blew harder on Wednesday the 1st of June, and held fair on Thursday the 2nd.

Nicobar
island
Andemaon.

Friday the 3rd we were in sight of the island of Nicobar, the wind blowing fresher. This island pays a tribute of a certain number of human bodies to the island of Andemaon, to be eaten by the natives of it. These brutes rather than men, use, when they have wounded an enemy, to run greedily to suck the blood that runs. The Dutch are witnesses of this cruelty of theirs; for they going with five ships to subdue them, and landing eight hundred men, tho' they were well intrench'd to defend themselves against those wild people; yet they were most of them killed, very few having the good fortune to fly to their ships.

Sieur Francis Coutinho, general of Salzette, told me, that the chief motive the Dutch had to attempt the

conquest of that island, was a report spread abroad, that there was a well in that island, whose water converted iron into gold, and was the true philosophers stone. The ground of this rumour was, an English ship putting into that island after a dreadful storm, where they observ'd that a little water, which an islander carry'd, being spilt upon an anchor that part of which was wet with it, turn'd into gold; and asking where he had that water, he told them out of a well in the island, after which they kill'd him. I can neither affirm nor deny that there is such a well: but only declare this story was told me by father Emanuel Ferreira, and by Coutinho, a knight of the order of Christ, before father Galli at Goa, who had also heard of it before. No man in Europe or Asia can give any more certain account of it, because those people have no commerce with any nation in the world.

Achem and
Sumatra
Island.

Saturday the 4th the fair wind continuing, we came off the point of Achem; where the Malay sea begins, so call'd from the Malayes inhabiting those islands. Achem is on the eastermost point of the island Sumatra; a country not govern'd by a king, as Tavernier thinks, but always by a queen: the males being excluded that inheritance, by the laws of the kingdom. There are other kings and princes in this island, part Mahometans and part Gentiles; whose subjects are near as barbarous as the people of Andemaon, particularly the inhabitants of a mountain call'd Bata, that is, rock, not far from Achem, who cruelly play for one another's lives. When the game is done, the winner binds the loser, and stays all day for some body to buy him, when if none comes he kills and eats him; as Coutinho told me, who had been up the said island of the kingdom of Achem. The natives firmly believe that if a dying man eats a roasted cuckow, he secures his passage to heaven; so that it is a good trade to carry those birds into the island, which is very fruitful and rich. In it is found much gold dust (which makes some suppose it to be the Aurea Chersonesus of the antients) tin, iron, camphire, sulphur, white sandal and pepper. The Dutch every year buy fifty thousand Picos of pepper, every Pico is one hundred and thirty pounds Spanish, which they sell to the Moors; who like it better than any other, because being smaller, they put it into their Pilau whole. The air of the country is bad, especially for strangers.

Sunday the 5th the wind fail'd us near this island, as it always uses to do; so that as much time is spent

by reason of the continual calm between that place and Malaca, which are but two hundred and fifty miles asunder, as in one thousand five hundred there are from Goa thither, as the pilots say. Besides, the calm and the current is contrary, and rather put ships backward than forward, for which reason we perceiving there was too much water to anchor, were forc'd to draw to shore, for here we always run close under it to drop our anchor, that we might not lose way when the contrary current met us.

Monday the 6th the calm continu'd, and I lost the pilot's table, for he would not find me any longer; and what most vex'd me was, that of thirty fouls I brought from Goa, I had eaten but seven and all rest were flown: a misfortune travellers are expos'd to. The wind freshning on Tuesday the 7th, we sailed almost due south, and leaving behind the island call'd dos Degradados, or of banish'd men, where the governors of Achem confine criminals, we came opposite to that call'd da Rainha, or the queen's; recovering fifty miles the current had carry'd us back. But Wednesday the 8th we were not only becalm'd, but not being able to anchor, the stream carry'd the ship six miles back.

Thursday the 9th we drew towards the aforesaid island with little wind, and came to an anchor late in eighteen fathom water a mile from land. Friday the 10th we weigh'd and dropt anchor three several times for want of wind, as was also done by the ship Pumburpa and English-man. Saturday the 11th the wind blew fresh betimes, and carry'd us forward. We call'd to some Malayes belonging to the island, who were fishing, but they would not come; and two that gave ear to us kept at a great distance for fear. Having given them some biscuit and vessels to fetch water, they were never seen more. These inhabitants of the island live worse than beasts; and their low cottages cannot possibly be seen, because of the thick green trees about them, as is usual all along this coast we had hitherto run. I was told there were none but cottages at Achem, and that only the queen's palace, she being then an old woman, is of timber, with a poor mud fort.

Eighty miles beyond Serra da Rainha, or the queen's mountain, the current is not always contrary, but runs fix hours one way and fix the other. The heat here is excessive, because the storms call'd Sumatras and the rains, which never fail in the bay, are here rare and

more gentle. The wind ceasing on Sunday the 12th, the boat was sent ashore for wood and water, but found none of the latter.

Monday the 13th we advanc'd as far as the point of Targiapour, where a good river falls into the sea, a place grateful to sailors, because from thence forward the current is not so rapid. Tuesday the 14th we made but little way, first with the land and then with the sea breeze; but we were worse afterwards, for the wind wholly ceas'd on Wednesday the 15th. Thursday the 16th it blew very faintly; and Friday the 17th there was none at all.

Polvereira
island.

Saturday the 18th we made some way in sight of the island Polvereira, but the wind failing, could not reach it till Sunday the 19th, where we lay off it. The compass of it is two miles, and it has abundance of trees and a good brook, but no inhabitants. The next night we were well wash'd by a great shower of rain; for at this island the Sumatras begin again and hold to Malaca, never failing either by day or night.

Monday the 20th the contrary wind hindered us making much way, but what we gain'd in sight of the two small islands the Portuguese call As duas Irmaas, or the two sisters, because they are near together. Tuesday the 21st we lay off the island Aru, beset with many rocks, and Wednesday the 22nd crossing the streight drew near the continent, so that on Thursday 23rd we were opposite to Mount Pulporselar. Friday the 24th we sail'd along the coast, which is thick cover'd with trees, and subject to a petty king that lives in the woods like a beast. Saturday the 25th we met several Chinese barks call'd Somas, loaded with rice and bound for Achem. They carry'd four sails made of mat, two of them on the sides from the main-mast, like the wings of a bird when it flies, extended by two great poles, another at the foremast and the fourth at the beak. The shape of the vessel is very odd, for the head is as wide as the stern. Towards evening we were near cape Racado.

Sunday the 26th, when we were in sight of Malaca, the wind started up contrary, and hindered us entering the port, so that we were forc'd to cast anchor; but on Monday the 27th we anchor'd on the shore of the city. Soon after I went ashore with the captain, and took a lodging in an inn.

An account of what is worth observing at Malaca.

Malaca city. Malaca is seated on the southernmost part of the antient Chersonesus, in 2 degrees and 20 minutes latitude, and therefore the days and nights are always equal. The Portugueses under the command of their general Albuquerque took it from the king of Ikor, but not without the expense of much blood; but in the year 1640 it was taken from them by the Dutch, after they had defended it bravely for six months. The antient thought Malaca was an island by reason of the many channels running across its land; but the exactness of the moderns, has discovered this error. The houses are of timber, and for the most part the walls and roofs covered with mats, but there are such abundance of palm and other trees all about, that at a distance, it looks more like a wood than a city. It is inhabited on both sides of the river by Portuguese Christians, Gentiles of several parts, Moors and Chinese; for which reason, when the governor puts out any order, it is writ in those four languages, besides Dutch. It contains about five thousand souls, most of them Portuguese catholicks, better instructed in matters of faith, than any in Europe, there being children ten or twelve years old, that answer to questions concerning religion, as solidly as a divine could do; and this because of the continual passing of missioners of the society through this place to China, Tunchin, Cochinchina and other parts. But the Dutch forbidding them the exercise of the catholick religion, they are forced to have it in the woods, with much danger; and to bear patiently with the excessive taxes laid on them, more then the Jews and Mahometans. Yet there is no danger they should become protestants, but on the contrary some Dutch have been known to adjure, through the means of their wives. It was no small comfort to me, to see such good Christians among Infidels and Calvinists. But their heavy sufferings make them wish for a change of Government, and to be under some catholick prince.

The fort.

Tuesday the 28th I went into the fort on the right hand, entering the channel. It is about a mile in compass. There are six small towers furnished with sufficient cannon, and a ditch towards the sea and channel. The two gates are one towards the river, and the other towards the south cape. The governor of the city commands in it, and has under him a garrison of one hundred and eighty soldiers. In the midst of it is a rising ground, on which stood the church and

monastery of the Jesuits, when it was possess'd by the Portuguses; but the Dutch pull'd down the dormitories, leaving only the church for their own use, and a tower adjoining to it, to put up their colours. Within the same fort was the church of the Misericodia; but that having been batter'd by the cannon, serves now for Magazine.

Cocoanuts.

The climate is temperate, as has been said, and the soil fruitful because it never misses any day being water'd by a shower of rain. It produces almost all the sorts of fruit found at Goa; but the cocoa-nut, is three times as big. When gathered green they call it Lagna, and the water of it serves to drink, but when full ripe, it has a pulp like an apple, tender and well-tasted; which is not found in the cocoa-nuts of Goa.

Durion.

The Durion of Malaca is also very famous; and strangers when once used to its smell are so fond of it, that they cannot be without it. The tree is very small, and the fruit grows out of the thick part of the branches, like the Jacca. It is almost round, and resembling the fruit of the pine-tree. When ripe it is yellow, with some points standing out about it; and the pulp within soft and white, and divided into six parts, with as many stones, which when dry, are eaten like other kernels. It smells like a rotten onion, but has an excellent taste; so that when the nose is once used to the first, the palate is well pleas'd with the second.

Mangustan.

The Mangustan, a wild fruit, is very good, round, and as big as an apple with six streaks on the top like a star. When ripe, it is yellow without, with white divisions within, like cloves of garlick; but soft and sweet. The rind powder'd and drank in water stops the bloody flux.

Jamboa.

The Jamboa is a fruit as big as a large melon, and has the rind, shape, and colour of an Adam's apple; but the quarters of it are like those of an orange, and of the same taste. These are white, yellow and red, according to the several sorts of trees; which is like the Taranja describ'd among the fruit of Goa.

Assampaja.

The Assampaja is an acid fruit, growing at the foot of the Indian canes, good to pickle, as big as a walnut, of an earthy colour without, and white within, with a stone in the middle.

Romania.

The Romania is as big as a green walnut, cool, and good to make the same sort of sauce.

Sagu.

The Sagu, so highly valu'd by the Portugueses, is the root of a tree that grows on the coast, and the Malayes carry to sell at Malaca, whence, by reason of its goodness, it is transported to India, China and other places still further distant. It is rarely well-tasted made into a sweet-meat; it is also good in broth, and its clouded seeds dissolv'd thicken like glew.

Bacciam.

The Bacciam is a wild fruit, like a Mango, and sharp to make sauce.

Herbs.

There are also several sorts of herbs differing from ours, and among the rest the Gnama and Celada, which taste like boil'd sellery.

The Port of
Malaca.

The city Malaca gives laws to all ships that pass the straight, obliging them to pay anchorage, whether they put into the port or not. Spanish and Portuguese ships pay one hundred of eight each, others less. The Dutch are so hard upon these two nations, because they say they paid as much when the Portugueses were masters of it. The English are not only free from this burden, but much honour'd; for two ships of their saluting with eighteen guns, the fort answered with nineteen, whereas our two vessels saluting with seven, they returned no answer; tho' the Pumberpa put out the arms of Portugal. The port of Malaca is very safe, and has a great trade from east and west; and therefore the Bazars of the city are furnished with the best rarities of Japan, China, Bengala, the coast of Coromandel, Persia and other kingdoms.

Parrots.

I saw such beautiful parrots there, that a painter could not draw anything so fine; some of them had all the body and wings red, and the legs green. Others, call'd Noros, the body red, the head black, or dark blue, and the wings and legs of a light blue. Others were of an ash colour, with green wings. And others white, with a yellow tuft, call'd Cacatus; and these are taken in the islands of Ternate, Ambon, Macassar and Java; but they are less than those of America.

Casuares.

Wednesday the 29th they shew'd me a black bird they call Casuares, twice as big as a Turkey cock, with bones in the wings, like whalebone, and the beak and feet like an ostrich. Its eggs are white and green, and is taken in the island of Java.

Balanca.

Thursday the 30th I eat a rare fish, call'd Balanca. Underneath it is like a crab, at top like a tortoise, and has the head arm'd with a sword; boil'd, it tastes

just like a crab; the male and female are always found coupl'd. Tho' there are such rarities at Malaca, it is dear living there, a piece of eight a day being little enough.

The Natives. The dominion of the Dutch reaches but three miles round the city; because the natives being a wild people living like beasts, they will not easily submit to bear the Holland yoke. They are called Menancavos, very great thieves, Mahometans as to religion, and such mortal enemies to the Dutch, that they do not only refuse to have any commerce with them, but cut them in pieces, whosoever it is in their power. And this is the reason, why the plains of Malaca, abounding in Indian canes, they cannot be cut without much precaution, for fear of those barbarians. Their king, call'd Pagarivyon, has his residence at Nani, a village made with mats ill put together, in the thickest of the wood. No better account can be had of their country for want of commerce with them.

Along the same coast lives another sort of half-men, call'd Salittes, Mahometans, as well as the others, in boats and moveable houses. They are both fishermen and pirates along the coast; a robust sort of men, govern'd by a chief they call Palimajatti, like Banditti.

*The description of the dangerous strait of Sincapura,
and of the people inhabiting it.*

I might easily have gone to Manilla, aboard the vessel call'd Polaco, which came into the port; but I voluntarily let slip that fair opportunity, being desirous to see China. In order to it, going all again aboard the Portuguese vessels on Friday the 1st of July, as we were ready to sail, our voyage was retarded by some words that pass'd between the pilot and the master's mate. The first of them went away aboard the Pumburpa, and all the day and part of the night being spent in fending and proving, the captain would have me draw up a form of protestation, to be notify'd to the pilot. He could not be prevail'd upon to return to the ship, so that we were forc'd to sail with another, after midnight.

Fermoso
river.

Saturday the 2nd, in the morning, we anchor'd, the wind being contrary, which lasting all Sunday the 3rd,

we made little or no way. Monday the 4th we run up on a bowling, and found ourselves at night opposite to a great mountain, over the river Fermoso. This is a deep river, whose source is many and many miles up the country. On its banks grow abundance of excellent of Indian canes which the inhabitants of Malaca cut to trade. Some of them are thick, without any knot, to serve for walking-staves, and others slender, and eighteen spans long; which cut are put to many uses, as to make bed-steads, outward doors, chairs, stools, baskets, ropes, pack-thread, and sewing-thread; for, when split thin, the threads bow every way without breaking, and are proper to sew with.

Tuesday the 5th we lay at anchor, and made but little way on Wednesday the 6th, because the wind was contrary. Thursday the 7th the same cause made us lose rather than gain ground; and it had been worse on Friday the 8th, had we not dropt anchor again after weighing. Saturday the 9th we were quite becalm'd. Sunday the 10th, the wind coming up pretty fair, we left the island Pulpisson, and two other small rocks astern. The first is so call'd, because shap'd like a fig; for in the Malay language Pul signifies an island, and Pisson a fig.

Monday the 11th we pass'd by the island Pulcariman, which, tho' large, is not inhabited any more than the rest. Then we came to an anchor at the mouth of the straight, before sun-set, both because the wind was contrary, and because we sounded all the way; for tho' the good pilots of Macao sail that way twice a year, yet they never remember any thing of it. On the left, going from Malaca, the mouth is four of five fathom deep, and six or seven on the right.

Many islands. There are abundance of other islands between Sumatra and cape Ikor, which are not set down in the maps; tho' some of them are so large, that they are call'd kingdoms. Some of them belong to the kings of Jambi and Palumbon, islands adjoining to Sumatra, on the coast opposite to Malaca, where the Dutch have a factory; and some to the king of Rioo, on the right of the straight of Sincapura; all three kings Mahometans as to their religion, and Malayes by descent.

The straits. This multitude of islands makes abundance of straits, all dangerous to pass; but particularly that of Sincapura, where we were, which yet is most frequented by the natives, to go to, and return speedily from Siam,

Cochinchina, Tunchin, Manila, China, Japan and other kingdoms of Asia. The other call'd del Govemador, or the governors, is so deep, that very often there is no anchoring in it; but being much wider than the other, the European ships, that is, French, English, Dutch and others, use it very much. The other straights are call'd Carvon, Durion, Javon and Ikor; besides many more, which take name from the islands that from them. That of Ikor is only passable betwixt the continent and the islands, where a long channel ends, which leads to the metropolis of the same name, consisting of cottages, and thence to the sea of the Contracosta, or opposite coast. The Dutch have a factory at that court to trade for pepper.

Sincapura
straight.

Tuesday the 12th we entred the mouth of the straight of Sincapura betimes, which is quarter of a league over at first; but further in wider, tho' inclos'd by so many islands, that they are a meer labyrinth to ships; which those who have not seen it before, think they shall nevver get out of, seeing land on all sides. The second mouth is but half so wide as the first, but only a mile in length, and all the distance between the two mouths is eight miles. This narrow passage is rendered the more dangerous by the violent setting of the water backwards and forwards at ebb and flood. In other respects the eye is delighted with a beautiful green of so many islands adorn'd with tall and thick trees, which are never left naked like ours in Europe in winter.

Salittes
Malayes.

The Malayes, call'd Salittes, live along this channel in portable and floating houses. They dwell on the water in boats cover'd with mats, with canes interwoven in the middle to lie on; nor are they disturb'd either at their brutal solitude, the ill air, or the dreadfulness of the neighbouring woods. They are ingenious at fishing, which they live on, either angling, or striking the least fishes through with spears made of bamboo. Some of them came to our ship's side, with their women and children in their floating houses to get vessels, iron, knives, tobacco and other trifles, in exchange for fish; they having no knowledge of money. They are not satisfy'd if they had the value of a hundred pieces of eight in exchange, they are so mistrustful, false and wicked; but upon any slight occasion strike their spear in any man's body, or else a small knife call'd Crisi, they wear by their side. They are subject to the king

of Ikor, who therefore has a custom-house for fish in the midst of the channel. We came to an anchor near it by reason of the calm.

The coast of
Ikor.

Wednesday the 13th we got out of the straight, leaving behind us on the right the cottages cover'd with mats, set up on poles; and keeping along the coast of Ikor, where I said the other mouth of the channel of that name was, the wind came up contrary, which oblig'd us to cast anchor near that barbarous country.

The kingdom of Ikor, as I said, abounds in pepper, a sort of white copper the Portugueses call'd Calein, Indian canes, rice, Arecca, cocoa-nuts, and other things, which keep up its trade with other nations; particularly with the Dutch, who therefore use all their endeavours to hinder others from resorting thither, allowing no vessels to pass by Malaca without the governor's leave. The inhabitants of Ikor and the Salittes wear a garment to their waste; and from thence down, both men and women cover themselves with a linen cloth. The women wear their hair dishevel'd without breading; but the men shave their heads and beards, only keep long whiskers. Instead of a turbant, they tie a small linen rag, like a fillet, about their foreheads.

Thursday the 14th, the wind being contrary, we anchor'd off cape Romania. Friday the 15th we sail'd along the coast of Romania, leaving a long row of islands on the right, that sea being all over full of them. About evening we pass'd by Pedra Branca, or the white rock, so call'd by the Portuguese, being a small white rock rising a little above the water, and so placed in the middle of the channel, with two other adjoining to it, that it has split many ships that were unacquainted with it.

Blasphemy
punish'd.

The Portugueses told me, that a countryman of theirs being to go that way in a ship of his own, laden with much gold and other rich commodities; he was continually asking of the pilot, when they should be past it; and thinking every hour an age till he was out of that danger, repeated with the question so often, that the pilot grown weary of him, said they were already beyond it. Then he distracted with joy, broke out into these execrable words, that God could not now make him poor. But he went not unpunish'd, for the ship soon struck upon the white rock; and having lost all, he only sav'd his life to be the more miserable.

Patanes.

Saturday the 16th, holding on our course with a brisk gale, we got out from amidst so many islands, which stretching out towards the south, along the straight of Banca, which is the way to Batavia, left us a clear and open sea, our course being eastward. The wind freshing, carry'd us away from cape Ikor, towards the island Borneo, which is under the equinoctial. The aforesaid cape Ikor is the end of a long coast reaching to Bengala, which afterwards turns away, and forms the Contracosta, or opposite coast, as far as the kingdom of Siam, where there are several other dominions and among the rest that of the Patanes, ever govern'd by a woman, like those of Achem and Canara. This country abounds in camphir, pepper, ivory, Cagulaca, a sweet wood to burn, cocoa-nuts, Arecca, white and stain'd calicoes, and birds-nests, and has a vast trade with the neighbouring kingdom of Bengala, by way of the Isthmus. The queen is a Mahometan, and tributary to the king of Siam. We sail'd on merrily towards the island of Pullaor, much wish'd for by us; when at night we were surpriz'd in a great Sumatra, or tempest from the north; which drove us so violently towards the south, that on Sunday the 17th, at break of day, we were in sight of the island of Borneo, and of those call'd Siantones, which lie off it, and are inhabited by Malayes.

MALAY ANIMAL AND FLOWER SHAERS.

By H. O. OVERBERCK.

Malay poetry contains a number of *shaer*, wherein birds, fishes, insects, flowers and fruits act and talk like human beings. European scholars have treated those *shaer* negligently; in the MSS.—catalogues we are told that such and such a *shaer* is a poem on the love of some birds for a rose, or on a fly in love with a mosquito, or that it is "a collection of erotic verses put into the mouths of two fishes who seem to be desperately in love." This hardly does justice to the *shaer*.

When in 1919 I published in this Journal a transcription of the *Shaer Burong Ponggok*, I asked whether the story might not have been based upon an actual human love-tragedy. I was not aware then that H. C. Klinkert in his article "Iets over de Pantons of Minnezangen der Maleiers," dd. Riauw 1866, published in the *Bijdragen T. I. & V. K.*, III, 5, had said that the *Shaer Ikan Téribok* seemed to him persiflage on some offer of marriage by a Malacca prince for a princess of Siak, which had been refused, and that the *Shaer Bunga Ayer Mewar* was probably an imitation of it. After perusing more of this kind of *shaer*, I formed the following theory.

Didactic poems like the *Shaer Unggas* or animal-fables in verse like the *Shaer Pelandok Jenaka* excepted, the stories contained in Malay Animal and Flower-Shaers are based on real incidents. They are told with technical conventionalities and embellishments. The non-human names of the chief actors have often relations well-known from Malay pantuns and proverbs (*pongeok* and *bulan*, *kumbang* and *kembang*, *pipit* and *enggang*), or may be chosen from the character or peculiarity attributed (sometimes only locally) by Malays to some animal or flower.

Capt. R. S. Rattray in his preface to his "Akan-Ashanti Folk-Tales" says (quoted from the review of the book by A. W. in "Man," July 1932, p. 169. No. 215): "The majority of these 'Beast-fables' are apogues in which the names of animals, and even that of the sky-god himself, were substituted for the names of real individuals whom it would have been very impolitic to mention—a practice which is still resorted to in order to expose someone whom the offended party fears to accuse more openly." The reviewer cites the opinions of other students of folk-lore, and asks whether the number of animal-fables current in a people's folklore may not be in proportion to the oppression they have suffered.

With certain modifications I think this applies to Malay Animal and Flower poems. In "Affairs of State," in "Love-Intrigues in Higher Circles" (*vide infra*) it was impolitic in former times to

mention the names of real persons. That the present generation thinks otherwise, may be surmised from the *Shaer Jēmal-al-ashik*, written in 1322 A.H. by Haji Abd'ul-Rahman of Asahan, a native of Mandailing, and published in Singapore. It tells the story of the heir-apparent of "Pēlēnggam," who seduces the daughter of his father's prime-minister and fights a duel with her brother, in which both are killed. His father has the prime-minister and his whole family put to death. Though names and places are altered, the story is told in a realistic style, and seems to be based on historical fact. But generally it is a characteristic of the Malay to prefer allusion to plain speaking, and with the ample store provided by pantuns and proverbial sayings the poet was never at a loss for a simile which delighted readers far more than plain names would have done.

Is this kind of *shaer* a product of the Malay mind, or has it grown under foreign influence? The didactic *Shaer Unggas* or *Shaer Burong* (Mr. Chauvin's "Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes," IX, p. 124) are imitations of the *Makamat* of Hariri, whilst Dr. van Ronkel ("Maleische Litteratuur van verren oorsprong," Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Pt. 53, ser. A, No. 7, Amsterdam 1921, p. 185 et seq.) has traced the Persian original. As to the other *shaer* of this article, Dr. van Ronkel admits the possibility that they are genuinely Malay, whence their great popularity, but reminds us that a Persian poet has sung the love of the nightingale for the rose. Yet on the strength of the Malay love of allusion, I feel inclined to surmise that this class of *shaer* is the true product of the Malay mind. How old is this class of poetry? All *shaery* seem to have been written in fairly recent times. Nor can I show parallels in the literature of peoples akin to the Malay. They should be sought wherever something akin to the Malay *pantun* is to be found, for example, among the Visayans in the Philippines.

If this type of *shaer* is based on real (or possible) incidents of Malay life, it fills a gap in Malay literature. Classical Malay literature tells very little of the Malay, it is concerned with court chronicles, fairy-tales and works of fiction autochthonous or imported, which tell of conventional princes and princesses but almost nothing of the people and their feelings. Glimpses we get from the *Chēritēra Jēnaka* etc. but the main source for the study of the Malay mind is pantuns and proverbs. Malay prose fiction has hardly entered Malay life; a few novels published during the last few years in Netherlands India are a beginning which gives hope for the future. Perhaps these Animal—and Flower-Shaer are little romances which show the Malay in a more human light than classical literature does. To my mind this class of *shaer* deserves fully the praise of Dr. de Hollander, which I have quoted in my introduction to the *Shaer Burong Ponggok* and may repeat here:

One finds in the shaers a childlike *naïveté*, a simple representation of events and circumstances, a natural expression of feelings and emotions, which has something touching and captivating and fascinates the reader in spite of the many gaps that occur to him, and of the many words, for the presence of which in their place he will be unable to find any reason unless he realises that it must be looked for in the compulsion of metre and rhyme.

The stories are told conventionally but have humour, passion and tragedy. If there is a certain sameness, the lines of Heine apply:

It is such an old, old story,
But always new again,
And those to whom it happens
Suffer heart-breaking pain.

To show the plots of these Animal and Flower *Shaer* to be human romances, and to show their beauty, I have made the following excerpts, though I admit that literal translation fails to exhibit their charm.

I have made a list as complete as possible of all *shaer* I could find which according to their title belong to the Animal and Flower-class, whether by their contents they really belong to that class or not. Part A contains *shaer* which I have examined, part B those which I have been unable to see; the descriptions in part B are from the catalogues. The classification into "An Affair of State" etc. is my own.

Wherever I have found a fairly coherent story, I have not collated MSS. or editions. Such a task is nearly as useless as correcting the exercises of very careless schoolboys. I overestimated the Malay poet when in my "Notes on Pantuns" I compared the pantuns in a prose-story with those in the *shaer*-version of the same story in the hope of finding them improved by the poet. A Malay who writes or copies a story for the press or for his own use, is mostly very careless, but in *shaer* he is at his worst. I often had the impression that he writes from memory, paying no attention to the order of the quatrains, and supplying at random rhyme-words that have escaped his memory or the first two lines of a quatrain of which he remembers only the second two lines. Whether the story is coherent or not concerns him little, and when his memory fails, he calls the poem *tamat* (finished), though the most interesting parts may be missing. Thus the blame we feel inclined to throw on the poet, is often deserved by the scribe. Who were those poets? Some may have been characters in the stories. I can imagine a party of court damsels or pages composing a *shaer* on an event wherein they had played a part. Or one can imagine a travelling merchant singing his amours in his many hours of leisure. Such a *shaer* probably was not written down

at once but repeated by mouth for a long time, not without alterations and improvements, until at last it became famous enough to be written down by a scribe who probably stated at the end of it that he "composed" (*mengarang*) it himself. Or a poem might be written down by somebody who found it so beautiful that he wished to preserve it, for instance by one of the princely personages mentioned as "authors" in the MSS.—catalogues. Some of the shaers were cherished as an *ars amoris*. I once asked a (Minangkabau) Malay copyist whether a Malay would be satisfied with a poem of which neither head nor tail could be made, or with fragments of which the end was missing. The question apparently was new to him; he answered that a *shaer* was read not so much for the story as for the delight one experiences from witty dialogue and in finding one's own feelings, passion or self-pity well expressed.

I have to proffer my sincerest thanks to the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia, for kindly entrusting me with some of their valuable MSS., to Dr. P. Voorhoeve of Batavia for valuable advice, and to Dr. Chr. Hooykaas of Djokjakarta for kindly pointing out to me and lending me the article by Dr. van Ronkel.

LIST OF ANIMAL-, FLOWER- & OTHER SHAERS

A

An Affair of State?

1. *Shaer Ikan Térubok herahikan Puyu-puyu didalam lubuk.* MSS: Batavia 4, Leiden 4, one dated 11.4.1876. Published: Singapore, several editions, my copy printed A.H. 1320, the *shaer* dated at the Jubilee of H. M. Queen Victoria.

Love in Higher Circles.

2. *Shaer Burong Ponggok.* MSS: Batavia 1, Leiden 2, one dated Tanjung Pinang 1865. Published: Zincographic edition Padang A.H. 1301, lithographic edition Singapore A.D. 1910, probably others. Journal Straits Branch R.A.S. No. 67, 1914. A "Shaer Pangkok" is mentioned in the catalogue of the Rost-Collection in Raffles Library, Singapore, which I presume is a "Shaer Ponggok."
3. *Shaer Burong Nuri mimpi bersuntingkan Bunga Chempaka.* Published: lithographed edition Singapore, without date.
4. *Shaer Kumbang dan Melati.* MSS: Batavia 3, one dated 1282 A.H., Leiden 2, one dated Bangkahoeloe, 14.4.1859. (See below, No. 8).

5. *Shaer Nuri I.* MS: Batavia 1. There must be some mistake in the catalogue, as the MS. (No. CDXXXII, Bat. Gen. No. 8) does not contain the love of a Nuri and a Chempaka, but that of the bird Sembangan and Nuri.

The Amours of the Travelling Merchant.

6. *Shaer Ikan Tambéra.* MSS: Leiden 1, dd. Baros, 25th Ramthan 1269 A.H. (3.7.1853 A.D.), London (R.A.S., 1, Paris 1. Published: lithographed edition Singapore 1291 A.H., probably others. A version written more or less in Minangkabau dialect is published in Dr. J. J. de Hollander, Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Maleische Taal- en Letterkunde, 6th ed., edited by R. van Eck, Breda 1893.
7. *Shaer Kembang Ayér Mawar.* MSS: Batavia 1 (No. CDLXXXIII, Bat. Gen. No. 10), erroneously called *Shaer Nuri II*, though in the MS. itself the title is given as *Shaer Kembang Ayér Mawar*. The mistake could easily occur as the Nuri plays an important part in the story. Leiden 3, No. 212, 213, 214 of Dr. van Ronkel's Supplement, the last one dated 1255 A.H.: according to the catalogue they must be more or less identical with the Batavia MS. Published: lithographed in Singapore, my copy dd. 1334 A.H. The *Shaer Ayér Mawar* in the Rost-Collection, Raffles Library, Singapore, is probably identical.
8. *Shaer Kumbang Chumbuan Sakti.* Lithographed in Singapore, my copy without date, probably several editions. Leiden, Dr. van Ronkel's Supplement No. 216, has a *Shaer Kumbang Mengindéra*, said to be written by Princess Safiah, a daughter of Raja Ali Hajji, ob. about 1859, which may be identical with this *shaer*, but may just as well be an independent *shaer* or another version of No. 4.
9. *Shaer Chinta Birahi Paksi Dewata.* Published at Singapore, my lithographed copy dd. 1320 A.H. The *Shaer Chinta Birahi*, MS. Batavia No. CDLII, is not identical, and the *Shaer Chinta Birahi* of Leiden, Suppl. No. 181, according to the catalogue differs from both. The small fragment called *Shaer Chinta Birahi* in Raffles' Collection, R.A.S., London, is no part of this poem.
10. *Shaer Nyamuk dan Lalat.* MSS.: Batavia 2, Leiden 1, the latter called *Lalat dan Nyamuk*.

Didactic Shaers.

11. *Shaer Unggas* or *Shaer Burong*. MSS.: Batavia 3, one dated 1278 A.H., Leiden 6, one dated 1257 A.H., another one

said to be "composed by Raja Hasan, son of Raja 'Ali Haji of Pénéngat, in 1859." Published: several lithographed editions, my copy dd. Singapore, 1332 A.H. The copy in the Rost-Collection, Raffles Library, Singapore, must be of a much earlier date. The Koninklijk Instituut, The Hague, has a copy dd. Singapore, 1304 A.H., Dr. van Ronkel mentions a copy dd. 1287 A.H.

12. *Shaer Bayan Budiman*. MSS.: Batavia 2, the second MS. has the title of *Shaer Ibadah* and at the end that of *Shaer Kabayan*.

Malay Shaers from Java.

13. *Shaer Buah-Buahan*. MS.: Batavia 1.
14. *Shaer Sang Kupu-Kupu dengan Kembang dan Balang*. MS.: Batavia 1.
15. *Shaer Jentaya*. MS.: Batavia 1.
16. *Shaer Kumkuma*. MS.: Batavia 1.
17. *Shaer Ikan (baharu)*. Published in Batavia by Lange & Co., 1865. It may be identical with, or a modern version of, the *Shaer Ikan*, of which there is one MS. in Raffles' Collection in the Library of the R.A.S., London, and two in Leiden. Dr. van der Tuuk and Dr. Juynboll agree that the poem they describe in their catalogues is "a miserable jingling of rhymes."
18. *Shaer Sang Tacon*. Published in Batavia by Lange & Co., 1860.
19. *Shaer Bunga Mélur Chémpaka Gading*. Published in Singapore 1345 A.H., composed in 1926 by Aim Hanizah of Kota Baharu, Kinta. It is a story of war between men and jins over two princesses, who are temporarily changed into a Mélur-flower and a Chémpaka Gading-flower, whence the title of the poem.
20. *Shaer Pélunduk Jénaka*. MS.: Batavia 1. Published in Singapore, my lithographed copy dd. 1309 A.H. A versification of some of the well-known mousedeer tales.

B

21. *Shaer Bunga*. MSS.: London 1 in the Farquhar Collection of the R.A.S., Leiden 1. The London MS. seems to be a fragment of 17 pp.; the Leiden MS. "contains 478 quatrains, introducing the names of about 230 flowers. The first line gives the name of the flower, the second is of an erotic tendency." (From an example given Dr. van der Tuuk's description of the London MS., I presume that each first quatrain mentions the flower with

- some encomium, and each second quatrain is a pantun quoted by the respective flower, which would also agree with the number of quatrains and names of flowers mentioned by Dr. Juynboll with regard to the Leiden MS.).
22. *Shaer Bunga Rampai*. MS. in Leiden. According to Dr. van Ronkel's description it is no coherent *shaer*, but a summing up of flowers and their peculiarities, more or less in pantun form. Possibly a version of No. 21.
 23. *Shaer Pipit dan Enggang*. MS. of 4 pages in Raffles' Collection in the library of the R.A.S., London. Dr. van der Tuuk says nothing about its contents. "Sparrow and Hornbill" is a well-known Malay simile for lovers unfortunate owing to the difference in wealth or rank.
 24. *Shaer Raja Tédong dengan Raja Katak*. MS. in Leiden. According to Dr. van Ronkel a poem on the relations between the king of snakes and the king of frogs and their respective ministers, which at first does not agree with nature, but at the end conforms to it. Dr. van Ronkel gives the concluding two quatrains of the story; King Snake says: "Now stop talking, as what you say is of no use whatever: I am so hungry that I can't stand it any longer, and I am going to eat you." And opening his mouth he devours King Frog and his minister.
 25. *Shaer Burong Biring-Biring*. Mentioned in Dr. de Hollander's "Handleiding," 6th ed., Breda 1893, p. 321, No. 89, but not in any of the catalogues which I could consult. The "Handleiding" says: "The story of a bird in love, which after several unsuccessful attempts succeeds in getting his beloved. According to my MS. the poem was written at Kampong Tambora by Capt. To Siah, which however does not mean that this unknown person is also the author."
 26. *Shaer Kupu-Kupu*. MS. in Berlin, 247 quatrains. (When I made the list of Malay MSS. in Germany, Journal M.B.R.A.S., vol. IV, 1926, I omitted to my great regret to examine this *shaer* properly. It may or may not be a longer version of the *Shaer Sang Kupu*, see above No. 14).
 27. *Shaer Burong Pingai*. MS. in Leiden. A mystic poem by Hamzah Pansuri of Baros, Sumatra, wherein according to Dr. van der Tuuk in note 1 in his short account of the Malay MSS. belonging to the R.A.S., London, the soul of man is spoken of as of a bird, "if the *pingai* flies away, it is a sign that the body will be eaten by the worms."

An Affair of State?

I. The Térubok-fish in love with the Puyu-puyu-fish in the riverpool.

The Singapore lithographed edition of A.H. 1320 contains 255 quatrains.

The Térubok-fish is a kind of Hilsa or Shad, *Alora* sp. [Wilkinson s.v. *Térubok*, Hobson-Jobson s.v. *Hilsa*] a sea-fish, and the object of a special fishing-industry at Bengkalis. The Puyu-puyu is the fresh-water Climbing Perch, *Anabas scandens*. The poem mentions various fishes. For an ichthyologist a special study of all these fish-names would prove interesting; in my outline I have suppressed as many as possible, and for others I have kept the Malay name unless I could find an English equivalent.

In the waters of Malacca, at Tanjong Tuan, lives the Térubok, apparently a young ruling prince. He has set his heart on Princess Puyu-Puyu, "who lives in a riverpool in the interior of the country near Tanjong Padang." Apparently he knows her only by hearsay; the *Kélésa*-fish, who has seen her, describes her beauty to Térubok and increases his passion. Térubok proceeds (incognito ?) to Tanjong Padang. Returned to Tanjong Tuan, he bids the Mackerel call up the other fishes. His dignitaries and officers appear, and Térubok reveals to them that on a trip upriver, at the last full-moon, he has seen Lady Puyu-puyu and cannot live without her. He asks for advice and help. His followers, sharks, dolphins, rays, mackerel, catfish, jewfish, the conger-eel and the mud-eel, the last two playing a rather dubious part, all offer to carry off Lady Puyu-puyu, boasting of their courage, strength and weapons. But the Siakap-fish utters a word of warning; such an expedition should be prepared very carefully. He reminds them of the attack on Singapore by the sword-fishes, which had been frustrated by a wall of banana-stems erected on the advice of a small boy, and adds that the inhabitants of the riverpool are already aware of the intended expedition and preparing for it. Questioned by Térubok, Siakap replies that he is unable to name the traitor, as many fishes are coming and going there.

Lady Puyu-puyu is living peacefully in her riverpool, when the mud-eel arrives and informs the spiny eel of the intended attack. Spiny eel informs her mistress that the "noble youth is now ready to come and devour her," he is only waiting for the full moon. Lady Puyu-puyu is disturbed; she thinks that his coming will be her death, and bursts into tears; her ladies-in-waiting and maids hurry to her and ask what the matter is. She tells them that Prince Térubok of Tanjong Tuan will come and carry her off by force if she does not follow him willingly. She asks all her servants what should be done. The ladies—all of them fresh-water fishes—have their say; some think that being

women they cannot resist, others opine that they must try their luck in a fight. Lady Puyu-puyu declares that she does not object to the marriage, but is afraid that she will suffer later on. It is not that the youth does not please her; the trouble lies in the difference between their countries, which will lead to difficulties. His country lies in the West, hers in the interior, hardly coming to the public notice; he is of the sea, she of the land, and no good will come of a marriage, which therefore she must decline. She cries, and the other fishes say that she is right and must abide by her decision. Some swear that they will be captured together and follow their mistress everywhere; others trust that heavy rain or drift-nets will frustrate the attack. The Sēluang-fish suggests that they should flee into the forest-swamp.

While they are discussing the matter, Conger-eel begins a frivolous dance. Sēkapar-fish does obeisance and rises and knocks him senseless. When Conger-eel recovers, he reproaches Sēkapar and sings a string of pantuns describing the love of Tērubok for Lady Puyu-puyu. The audience rebukes him for jesting, but Lady Puyu-puyu says that though danger threatens, that is no reason why there should not be some fun. And then she sits down by her duennas and has a good cry.

The rumour of Lady Puyu-puyu's distress reaches her insignia-bearer (*bentara*), who comes to pay his respects, accompanied by all the old servants and warriors of the state. They claim the right to fight for the princess, and each of them names the sea-fish he will single out for his adversary. Kēlah (the carp) says that their only means of escape is to pray to God, as they will never be able to offer serious resistance to Tērubok. Kēlah claims to be clairvoyant; with the blessing of the gods (*dewata*), God (*Allah*) will grant the princess' prayer. Lady puyu-puyu is convinced that Kēlah is right; towards the evening she begins praying and offering (*puja*): "If I am in truth of royal race, may my wishes be granted." She takes a ceremonial bath (*mandi bērlimau*), withdraws into her palace and prays until dawn, when a storm bursts, wherein her parents come down from heaven and bring a beautiful tree, which takes root in the middle of the riverpool. "The appointed time having come," the princess jumps into the tree and climbs into its branches before her duennas have time to catch her. The fishes agree that Puyu-puyu "has found her place" (*puteri puyu-puyu sudah bertempat*), and she appears in the story no more. It is said that living on the tree she resigns herself to never meeting her lover, and thinks of the Kēlēsa-fish, whose fate it is to mate with a bird. (According to Wilkinson, s.v. *Kēlēsa*, with the cormorant).

Tērubok has his warriors called up to storm the defences of driftnets. When all of them have bragged of the great things they are going to do, he departs with them at the time of the full moon,

selecting the various commanders from his trusted warriors. When they are near the shore, the wind rises and moves the driftnets. At Bukit Batu the expedition stops and fishermen hurry to the spot and lower their nets. Tērubok escapes into the river and realizes that God does not will that he shall meet his beloved. He hears that Princess Puyu-puyu has escaped into a tree; and returns to Tanjung Tuan and his own country, mourning for ever his unfortunate love.

In this curious and partly obscure story Mr. H. C. Klinkert sees a skit on a proposal of marriage by a Malacca prince for a princess of Siak, as mentioned in the *Séjarah Mélanyu* though in the printed editions I have been unable to find the story.

Love (in higher circles?)

2. Shaer Burong Ponggok.

(See Journal No. 67. The story is by no means clear, but I have been unable to obtain a better version).

Ponggok I take to be a youth at some minor court, possibly the retainer of a high dignitary. He is in love with the "Princess of the Moon," probably his master's daughter, but too much above him for marriage. His love not unrequited will soon be ended by the lady's marriage. Moreover his lady is always surrounded by her maids (the stars) and her duennas (the clouds), and mostly he has to admire her from afar. She has, however, a garden in the country, and Ponggok and his elder "brother" reconnoitre and make friends with the keeper, Bird of Paradise, who warns him not to risk a visit to the place. Some of the maids promise to convey a message from him to Lady Moon. Others warn him that his absence from court may create suspicions. The virtuous dove admonishes him to put his trust in God. Ponggok hides for forty days, then, Lady Moon having gone to the garden, he proceeds thither, bathes and hides. His friend, Bird of Paradise, calls him, advising him that the duennas are out of sight. Very shyly the lover enters the garden; the maids bring him to Lady Moon in the garden-house. The duennas keep guard outside, and the youth declares his love and spends the night with Lady Moon, overwhelming her with sweet words and soft caresses.

Early in the morning the lover escapes to the hills, and practises austerities to ensure further happiness. At last his lady-love visits the garden again and enquires where her lover is. Nobody knows but the keeper of the garden, Bird of Paradise, who describes Ponggok's pitiable state, and Lady Moon sends him to tell Ponggok that whatever he desires, she will grant. One of the duennas (*the Mega Antara*) accompanies Bird of Paradise, and Ponggok, pretending that it is useless as his love has met with no return, yields and meets his lady again. She yields to his sweet words, much to the approval of her maids, who all admire the lover.

But the happiness of the two becomes known. At their last meeting Lady Moon gives Ponggok her beautiful *kain*, which Ponggok accepted as "a torch on my way to the clouds." Wearing this he struts through the town. When he meets her father (? the Géroda), he stops, rubbing his chest. The father recognizes the *kain*, and in a fury seizes the youth, who meekly follows, led by the brothers of the girl (? Biram Gandasuli and Rajawali). The father orders his retinue to kill the miscreant, but Ponggok drawing his *keris* fights, and none can approach him. The Rajawali wounds him on the head with his sword, the Biram Gandasuli attacks him with a lance and succeeds in throwing him into the river and drowning him under a raft. By order of the girl's father the body of the unlucky youth is thrown on the muddy riverbank to rot, a funeral being denied to him. His lady-love is told but does not give vent to her grief, as if her brother (the Rajawali) should hear of it, she would meet with the same fate. An affianced bride Lady Moon does not die with her lover.

The *shaer* is not very clear, and though the above interpretation should be fairly correct, I am probably mistaken in details. Lady Moon I thought at first to be the *gundik* or secondary wife of a prince or high dignitary, but then would she not have met the same fate as her lover? I am puzzled by the mysterious *jatoh kérama*, which occurs in the beginning:

Jikalau bulan jatoh kérama

Dimanakan dapat ponggok bersama?

and near the end:

*Sebab bulan jatoh kérama,
Makanya tidak mati bersama.*

I take the term to be the Javanese *jatukrama*, which means "a future marriage" or "the intended wife of . . ." which I think is also the meaning in the sentence from *Hikayat Pérbu Jaya* quoted in Wilkinson's Dictionary. The relationship of Géroda, Rajawali and Biram Gandasuli with Lady Moon is also not evident.

The concluding quatrains contain a rather curious statement:

Padang version:

Ada pun kēlayuan ponggak nan tuan,
Tumbuh-lah ia jadi chéndawan,
Ménjélémá kapada sifat-nya haiwan,
Jadi-lah rupa-nya tidak kétahuan.
Jatoh lalu ka-dalam dunia,
Héndak naik apakan daya,
Sifat pun tidak lagi mulia,
Jadi-lah hilang budi upaya.

Singapore version:

Ada pun akan ponggok nan tuan,
Tumbuh-lah ia jadi chéndawan,
Ménjélémá kapada sifat yang haiwan,
Jadi-lah rupa tiada karuan.
Jatoh-lah lalu ka-dalam dunia,
Héndak naik tiada bérdaya,
Sifat pun tiada lagi bérchahaya,
Jadi hilang budi upaya.

It is said that since this time the Ponggoks have remained in hopeless love with the moon, flying about at night and staying at home over day.

The conclusion apparently aims at giving the *shaer* an abstract aspect instead of that of a narration of a well-known event. It is curious that the corpse of the poor lover became a fungus or mushroom. Does it mean that it rotted away, or is there some superstition connected with fungi owing to their remarkably sudden growth? Some time ago in an old garage not far from my house at Djokjakarta, Java, there appeared at one of the wooden corner-pillars a sudden growth of big white fungi, consisting of more than fifty pieces, the total complex being about a yard high and a yard in circumference. The tale spread all over Djokjakarta, and during the few days the phenomenon lasted many thousands of people must have visited it. Flowers and incense were offered before it; I was told that there was some connection with spirits, but could ascertain nothing definite from tradition or literature.

3. The Story of the Lory who dreamt that he wore a Chēmpaka-flower behind his ear.

Nuri (the lory) is a noble princeling. One night he dreams that he "wears a pink Chēmpaka-flower behind his ear" (meets the Lady Chēmpaka). He calls friends and retainers, old and young (among them Rajawali, Chēntayu, Bayan) and asks for an interpretation of his dream, which only Parroquet (Bayan) can give: it means that the youth will meet his lady-love. Lory becomes restless, and following Pigeon's advice sets out with two trusted friends, Magpie-Robin and Parroquet, to find Bird of Paradise. They go to Gunong Ledang, where Lory implores heaven to assist and give him a sign that his prayers are granted. To fast and recite love-charms is a practice in use even in modern Java.

Lady Chēmpaka, probably the (secondary) wife of a prince or dignitary to whose family Lory belongs, lives in a garden pavilion (*kabarnya konon taman batara*), guarded by four warriors, Bird of Paradise, Eagle (Rajawali), Chēndērawaseh and Peacock. She is not a common tree flower, but lovely as only a Malay girl can be, a bud that never fades. (*Jangan di-sangka bunga-nya kayu, chantek-nya sapērti anak Mēlayu, sa-lama-nya kuntum tiada layu*). When at full moon she plays in the garden attended by the flowers her maids, she tells her maids she feels enchanted; some answer that what God has decreed cannot be evaded, other warn her against imprudence.

Lory visits Kite who tells him that Burong Dewata is the keeper of the beautiful flower garden. Lory makes friends with the keeper and is invited to look at the garden. He enters and sees Lady Chēmpaka, who is his dream love, and bemoans the

fate that she is another's (*sayang sedikit ada yang punya*). Lady Chémpaka sends her maid, Bunga Nagasari, to enquire what he wants. Lory replies that he is a stranger, blown hither by the breeze, and Lady Chémpaka pays no further attention to him.

Stricken with love Lory returns home, and when Pigeon asks him if he has found his love, he bemoans his fate for having fallen in love with another's bride (*gilakan bunga di-taman orang*). But he sends Murai, to take to Lady Chémpaka, who as another's property (*larangan Indéra*) is not easy to approach, the message of his love in pantuns, asking her to save his lovesick heart from death. Lady Chémpaka is afraid of the keeper (*dewata*, or is it "the gods"?); what if the affair should become known? Besides, Lory is to her as a brother (*sayang ia saperti saudara*, which may imply relationship between Lady Chémpaka's master, the Indéra, and Lory); otherwise she would call Lory and talk to him. She is shy, and Murai had better disappear before the affair goes too far.

Magpie-Robin returns and reports, asking Lory not to blame him for his failure. Lory goes to Mount Mahameru and becomes the disciple of a holy man, Sandpiper (*Akan guru-nya burong kédidi, tempat-nya konon di-kampong Madi [madzi?], makaran pisang ubi kéladi*), probably a saint or wizard living in the mountains, leading a life of abstinence, and wellknown for his love-charms. With him Lory practises austerities and studies the love-charm *Sang Hyang Bayu* (the wind-god; is this a reminiscence of the *Hikayat Séri Rama* and the magical conception of Hanuman?), which if it reaches Lady Chémpaka will make her restless. Then he returns home, and beginning in the night between Thursday to Friday, at four o'clock in the morning, he practises the '*ilmu marifat*' for a day and a night, keeping a strict fast, thoughts concentrated on Lady Chémpaka.

Lady Chémpaka becomes very restless; she perceives that this is Lory's doing and her heart longs for him but she is still afraid and regrets that he is to her as a brother. She confesses her love to her maids. Miss Jasmine advises her to invite Lory to visit her; the other maids make various comments, warning her against the danger, or singing of the suddenness of love. At last on a Thursday afternoon Lady Chémpaka, too, has recourse to magic and by the means of the '*ilmu marifat*', concentrating her thoughts on Lory, she "calls" him. Lory feels the call and obeys; early in the morning he arrives outside the fence. Lady Chémpaka sees him and is concerned "that her charms have caused the reckless youth to risk his life," but she dare not speak to him, and only when day is advanced sends her maid Nagasari to him. Lory gives her a ring to take to her mistress, with a message in verse declaring his love and asking for a meeting. Nagasari delivers

ring and message; Lady Chempaka sends in return a casket of perfume with a message in quatrains:

Use it, my lord! It is your heart's desire?
If not, no more is there for me to do.
The nosegay's cut and ready for the ear:
If so you wish, it's ready, sir, for you.
If you should dare your life to stake
The vow of troth with me you'll take.

Nagasarai delivers the message and the present; Lory proudly replies:

Because his life he's ready to lay down
Lory his flight unto this garth has made:
The famous Lory counts it for renown
On honour's field to let his bones be laid.

But he becomes pensive "like a man who has been suffering long from a wound." All joy gone from his heart, he is admitted into his love's presence. Their eyes meet; Miss Bunga Tanjong offers him betel, and Lory implores her and the other maids to keep their secret. Miss Gambir laughingly warns him that he must be ready to risk his life, or this affair will come to naught. Lady Chempaka asks him in quatrains why of all God's creatures he is longing for the one that is so difficult to obtain; Lory replies that even in his mother's womb he loved none but her. Lory faints, but is restored by the maids, and late at night joins his lady in her room. He swears that he is ready to lose his life if her master (the Indera) should surprise them. She taunts him:

Sweet are his words, while still in expectation,
But his mind changes, when he comes to leave.
Yes when he leaves, his words will be quite other,
And I who stay behind my heart may grieve.

But she yields.

Lady Chempaka's words come true. When "his heart is no more depressed (*Nuri pun hilang hati-nya gondah*)" Lory wants to leave, because he fears the arrival of the "Indera Pahlawan." Miss Melati reminds him:

So here's the place where you have sworn to die,
At home another mistress you will seek!
But such are men! Their vow is but a lie,
They'll stake their lives but ah! their passion's weak.
They'll stake their lives while we are in their arms!
When they're away, it is another story.
When once he's flown and left his lady's charms
Who ever hopes to see again a Lory?

Lory insists on leaving; may they all enjoy the garden, whilst he alone is unhappy. Lady Chempaka rises from her knees and

dismisses him. Lory tries to soothe her ruffled feelings; at first she repeats her short dismissal, but then she breaks down (in pantuns):

Alas, that you should have the heart, beloved,
To go, just when our love has reached its height!
Do your feelings, does your heart allow you
To leave me in the middle of our love?
You love me, and I, too, love you,
Inseparable we like ink on paper.
It's easy for a heart to feign love,
But deep embedded love is no light matter!

Lory cries and swears that he will return. She must not mourn or show any change in behaviour towards her master the Indera Pahlawan. If he could, he would take her away with him. But why is she silent? Does she hate him?

No, I do not hate you,
And if you fly away, far through the clouds,
I, left behind, shall try and bear my sorrow.

Lory departs, and soon finds consolation enough. Lady Chempaka longs for him. Her maids try to comfort her. Miss Gambir suggests:

Nuri is young! Chempaka, too, is young!
So let them both seek consolation elsewhere.

But Lady Chempaka thinks that this would mean to break her troth. In vain she waits for his return, and is sick with longing until at last her composure is restored and she enjoys with the other flowers the pleasures of the beautiful garden.

The poem has a more than usually long conclusion the writer saying that he did not compose the story but used a "writing of the good old days" (*surat orang zaman dahulu*).

4. The Bumble-Bee and the Jasmin-Flower.

Of this *shaer* five MSS. are mentioned in the catalogues, three in Batavia, No. 477, 478, 479, and two in Leiden, Suppl. No. 217 and 218. Of the two in Leiden No. 217 is called *Shaer Kumbang dan Melati*, No. 218 *Shaer Kumbang*; both are unfinished, and for the contents we are referred to the Batavia catalogue: we may assume that both are more less identical with the Batavia version? Leiden No. 217 contains 1276 lines, i.e. 319 or 638 quatrains, but according to the catalogue it commences with a didactic poem, the length of which is not stated, nor whether it is included in the 1276 lines. No. 218 has only 150 lines, about 38 or 75 quatrains. The three versions in Batavia are fragments, though in No. 478 the *shaer* is called *tamat* (finished). No. 477 has been presented to the Society in January 1885 by

Mr. A. Gramberg of Palembang; 478 and 479 are both parts of collections of *shaer* and *pantun* joined together more or less at random apparently written down more or less from memory. No. 477, after 14 introductory quatrains, contains in 124 quatrains a fairly coherent story, ending with the Kumbang's visit to Mr. Cricket. This fragment has a beautiful style. No. 478 contains about 123 quatrains, commencing at about quatrain No. 67 of 477, and carries the story further than 477, but ends abruptly. The writer apparently jotted the poem down from memory, and though quatrains 1-57 of 478 are more or less identical with 67-124 of 477, they are written carelessly, and the remainder is confused. No. 479 contains the same quatrains as 478, but in a hopeless jumble. The contents of the three versions compare approximately as follows:

No. 477: quatr.	No. 1-124,
" 478: "	" 67-190,
" 479: "	" 67-75, 136-151, 91-105, 76-90, 121-135, 106-120, 150-190.

Kumbang is a beautiful youth of noble birth (*dari udara konon asal-nya*), probably master of the Court Pages (*pénghulu kumbang udara, sekalian kumbang dalam kukum-nya*). He is a bachelor, who has not yet found the right girl. One night he dreams that he "puts a Pink Jasmine behind his ear," whom he has met in her garden Puspa Bérangti, nobody else being present. (Pink Jasmine is probably one of the wives of Kumbang's chief). He hides his passion as well as he can, but his friends observe a change in him. He tells them of his love and implores their help. Bélang Kukusan suggests that they should pay Bunga Nagasari and Kasturi (probably former maids or nurses of Lady Jasmine) as go-betweens. Kumbang agrees, and Bélang Kukusan finds the two dames, who willingly accept the task. They pay a preliminary visit to Lady Jasmine and hint that somebody is in love with her. Lady Jasmine smiles, and the other flowers, her maids, jest about it.

Kumbang is chatting with his friends, when Cockroach visits him and gives a glowing description of the beauty of Lady Jasmine whom he has seen in the garden. Kumbang faints; Dukun Charak-charak restores him to consciousness. He implores the aid of Witchflower (*bunga yang sakti*), an old woman, to carry a message and presents to Lady Jasmine a beautiful *kain* "to wipe her feet and sweep the garden with," packed in a coloured and perfumed silk handkerchief.

Witchflower visits Lady Jasmine, declaring that she has always longed to make her acquaintance. Lady Jasmine replies that it has always been her wish too, and mutual good feeling established. Witchflower hints what a pity it is that Lady Jasmine has no

friend equal to herself in youth and beauty (her Lord and Master presumably being old and ugly). She discloses that Kumbang has sent her. Lady Jasmine becomes alarmed and bids Witchflower take the presents back to Kumbang and tell him that though not annoyed she is afraid of playing false to her lord.

Witchflower informs Kumbang, who in his distress pays his respects to the venerable Mr. Cricket, who, although newly come to the country, is famous for his powerful charms. Humbly kissing the knees of the sage, Kumbang implores his aid. The old man has pity on him:

Smiling a little, turning round his cap,
Striking his beard, and spitting out his quid,

he softly tells Kumbang:

First of all things you must subdue your passion,
Do not give way to your heart's desire,
Or your purpose will surely come to naught.
Thought and attention must be well in order,
And you must clear your heart of darkness
Before I can disclose to you the charm.

Hope dawning, Kumbang follows this advice, and is taught the charm *Lanang sa-jati si-bintang 'lamut*. Taking his leave, Kumbang prostrates himself before the sage, who touching Kumbang's head prays that he may meet with success. (Here ends Bat. No. 477).

The charm promptly takes effect; Lady Jasmine feels an irresistible longing for Kumbang and bids Nagasari and Kasturi fetch him. Kumbang hastens to his love. But their happiness does not last long. Louse and Parasite (low servants of the court?) inform the lady's lord that, led by Nagasari, Kumbang is nightly visiting the forbidden park, and in a fury the prince orders his guard, the grasshoppers, to surprise the interloper and slay him.

Kumbang is with his lady-love when Cockroach arrives in a great hurry and tells the news, urging Kumbang to flee. But Kumbang laughs; he is not afraid of death and prefers it to separation from his love. At 9 p.m. (sic!) he pays his last visit. "Faded flower" (*Bunga Layu*) by order of Lady Jasmine is waiting at the gate and leads him to the bower. Overwhelming Lady Jasmine with endearments, Kumbang asks for a last favour.

Here Bat. No. 478 ends, the writer calls it *tamat*. From interpolated verses which have nothing to do with the story, it seems that the *shaer* was written at Singapore, though it came from Trengganu. The story is probably similar to that of Hang Kasturi in ch. XVI of the *Séjarah Mélanyu*, and it would perhaps be worth while to find out whether Leiden No. 217 carries it any further.

5. The Story of Lady Lory.

(This unfinished *shair* of 185 quatrains according to a note in the MS. was written by Sultan Badr-u'd-din of Palembang, who died in exile at Ternate. The *simbangan* is a sea-bird (*Procellaria* spp.). My Minangkabau-Malay copyist always transcribed it *sumbangan!* What's in a name?)

Sea-bird apparently is a young prince, handsome and wanton. Rambling with his retinue through the town, he passes the quarter of the Bayan Jauhari, probably a high dignitary and espies Nuri, his beautiful young wife. Their eyes meet, and they fall passionately in love. Bayan adores his wife and treats her with every respect. Nuri tries to hide her sudden passion for Sea-bird by feigning headache and keeping to her room.

Sea-bird unable to find rest saunters through the town and meets Magpie-Robin, who with her friend the Starling is beautifully doing nothing (Both probably are old women formerly in the service of Nuri or Sea-bird). They are cracking jokes on their respective beauty. Simbangan smiles and tells Magpie-Robin that he wants a very discreet messenger in a love-affair. Will Magpie-Robin help him? She is eager to do so, and Sea-bird gives her a message in verse to be recited after carefully sounding the heart of Nuri. He is very ill, and unless Nuri can cure him, will die: he longs for a flower, round which a huge snake is coiled.

Magpie-Robin, paying her respects to Nuri, asks for medicine for herself. Nuri sees through her wife and assures her that she does not need it. Nuri remarks that though a mountain may look low, it is not so easy to grasp its top and cites the case of a heavenly nymph sent down to seduce a saint practising austerities: the passion for her will remain though she has never been touched. Magpie-Robin flatters Nuri praising her cleverness, and Nuri sends her back with a message in quatrains: Sea-bird loves a Nuri, a Nuri in another man's cage: Sea-bird longs and Nuri loves, both enduring the same pangs. Magpie-Robin understands the hint that Sea-bird's love is requited, but that further steps must be taken by him, and assures Nuri that Sea-bird's love is desperate enough. She returns. Nuri is torn by passion:

The flames of love flare up: before her eyes
 The very heaven is whirling round and round,
 The mountains shake, the plains are swinging,
 The shape of her own limbs is changing strangely.
 Her passion surging with increasing force.
 The onset of emotion in her heart
 Causes a sudden change on her sweet face.

Like a Chémpaka fading in a wreath,
 And yet the change increases Nuri's sweetness,
 Which is but brightened by the paling yellow.
 No longer can she hide that storm of passion,
 And in her room she drops upon her couch.

In the afternoon she rises again, but only to watch the road. Will Sea-bird show himself? It grows dark. Bayan, her husband, comes home. Anxiously he enquires what is ailing her? Has he unwillingly hurt her feelings? Have any of the household offended her? Bayan will give him a sound thrashing. Nuri replies that she is only suffering from headache. Bayan would send at once for a *dukun*, regardless of the expense, but Nuri bids him to leave her, as his talking only increases her pain. Bayan withdraws, and Nuri mourns her fate. What is she going to do?

<i>Apakah jadi padi-ku ini,</i>	<i>Jika di-ketam tiada terketam</i>
<i>Ku-ketam tiada-lah terketam?</i>	<i>Ka-barat juga chondong buah-nya;</i>
<i>Apakah jadi hati-ku ini?</i>	<i>Jika di-tahan tiada tertahan,</i>
<i>Ku-tahan tiada-lah tertahan.</i>	<i>Mudzarat juga akan sudah-nya.</i>

(What will become of my rice? I am reaping it but I am unable to finish the harvest;

What will become of my heart? I am restraining it, but it cannot be restrained.

If I reap but cannot finish the harvest, the ears, becoming too heavy, will bend down;

If I am restraining a passion that cannot be restrained, suffering will be the end).

At last she sends her maid, Green-Pigeon (*Punai Jambu*) to Sea-bird with the request to let Magpie-Robin come again, as her headache is still very bad. Simbangan bids Magpie-Robin go and help Nuri at once, observing:

A sudden illness is cured easily,
 But what balm is there for a lovesick heart?

When Magpie-Robin arrives, Nuri throws her arms round her neck and implores her aid:

I'm suffering bearing all this love alone,
 I have a feeling as if death were coming.

Magpie-Robin admonishes her:

You should restrain your longing and your love,
 Take care that your good name be not impaired.
 Carry your love and longing with a jest;
 Carried in silence it will lead to illness.

But before leaving, she tells Nuri that on the morrow Sea-bird will go for a walk and call at her house.

Nuri is uncertain what to do. Will she be able to meet Sea-bird without betraying her feelings? Rising early she bids her maids prepare sweetmeats.

The next evening, when the full moon is shining Sea-bird with a large retinue strolls to Bayan's compound. Bayan and Nuri come down from their house to receive him. Sea-bird enters and sits with Bayan, Nuri keeping in the background at some distance from the lamp. Sea-bird gives her a few sidelong glances, and knowing her embarrassment, he casually addresses her, saying that he has heard of her illness and asking how she is. Nuri replies that she feels better, and coming out of her corner exchanges a few side-glances with him. Afraid that he will be unable to control his feelings, Sea-bird takes leave and saunters away with his retinue. Nuri follows him with her eyes, and complaining again of dizziness and headache, retires to her room. Her head on her arm, looking at the moon veiled by clouds and listening to the wailing of the lovesick *pongkok*, she tries to console herself by expressing her feelings in tender quatrains.

Sea-bird, too, throws himself on a couch, torn by passion. Magpie-Robin watches him and softly croons a pantum:

To Siam I went to buy me a boat,
The sailors on board were hauling the sheets.
Does she love me, I wonder, with glances remote?
A heart is distraught when passion it meets.

The loves of the Travelling Merchant.

(I may be quite wrong to use this caption, but the traveller, who came and went with the monsoon, staying for months at some Malayan trading-centres, is a wellknown figure. I have witnessed myself in 1904, 1905 and 1906 the last of the *musim Bugis* at Singapore, when a large fleet of trading-prahus was lying in harbour, and at night the traders and sailors were painting the quarters round Rochore a lively red. How was it in the "good old times" in the trading-centres of Malaya? And were there courtesans, as refined and perhaps as dangerous as those mentioned so frequently in ancient Indian literature? If my interpretation is right, the poems comprised under the above heading should throw interesting light on things about which hitherto very little is known).

6. The Story of the Tambéra-Fish.

(The following excerpt is from de Hollander's "Handleiding," comprising about 130 quatrains, and written more or less in Minangkabau dialect. It seems to be printed from the original text with all faults and lacunae, but gives a fairly coherent story).

Ikan Kakap, a sea-fish, is a handsome youth, apparently a merchant staying with other merchants at one of the trading-ports of Malaya or Sumatra.

Ikan Tambéra, a fish of the estuary, is apparently an agreeable young lady of the town, and Kakap probably has seen and fallen in love with her. He wanders through the town, accompanied by Mackerel (probably an elder friend). They meet Grey Mullet, and Kakap tells him that he is in love with Tambéra. Mackerel warns Kakap to act very cautiously.

Kakap is very impatient, and at the first opportunity (a flood of the river, probably a time of festivities when many people from the country flock into the town) he slips into the city and visits the Ampélung-fish. She willingly undertakes to act as go-between and visits Miss Tambéra, conveying to her Kakap's presents, a jewelled ring, and a *kain* from Semarang, with his respectful message asking to be allowed to become her humble lover (*minta di-pérhamba*).

But Miss Tambéra will live in misery or stay at home until she turns into a stone rather than accept as lover a travelling merchant "a fish from the sea." She disdains to accept the presents and bids Ampélung return.

Crestfallen Ampélung goes home and tells Kadap. Indignant at the refusal of his tender offer, Kadap visits his spiritual teacher, the Sting-ray, also called Dato' Kari ("the venerable Koran-reader"). Presenting him with a *kain* and a knife, Kakap implores his aid. Swearing by his long and scanty beard that his charms respect no person, the venerable Mr. Sting-ray gives Kakap his most penetrating charm and an antidote against it, which he has obtained from Semarang. It must be used very cautiously, and Kakap must first retire into seclusion.

Kakap returns to the estuary, and a friend shows him a sacred spot, called Karang Renggas, the spirit of which (*dato' keramat*) is sure to fulfil wishes uttered there. Thither Kakap withdraws, and subsisting on betel, bananas and roots only, works his charm for seven days and nights.

With the help of the Saints and the blessing of Kakap's teacher the charm takes effect, and Miss Tambéra becomes ill at ease. Meeting her friend the Lépu-fish, she complains bitterly that all this is the doing of Kakap. Kakap dreams that he catches a Kutolang-bird while she is sitting in her nest.

Miss Tambéra, unable to endure her plight, disdains the pious advice of the Témbakang-fish to have recourse to prayer, and visits Ampélung. She asks Ampélung to forgive her for former courtesy (*jikalau ada kata térdorong, kakanda buangkan ka-balik gunong*), and to convey to Kakap her message. Sending him *ireh* and *pinang*, she implores him to forgive her, and come and cure her of her suffering. Ampélung visits Kakap, who praising the greatness of God promises to come as soon as possible.

At 1 p.m. (sic!), dressed to his best advantage, Kakap proceeds to Miss Tambéra's house. Seeing him coming, Miss Tambéra, "afraid like a chicken of the kite," retires into the inner room. Kakap, sitting down near Ampélung (who, together with Gray Mullet seems to act as chaperon during this first interview) coughs and asks where the lady of the house is. Bashful Miss Tambéra appears and hides her embarrassment by jestingly asking Kakap what dream has caused him to venture upon this visit. Kakap replies that intoxication from eating Kepayang-fruit has brought him hither. (This is an allusion to the wellknown saying about this fruit: "*di-makan mabok, di-buang sawang*," see Wilkinson, s.v. *képayang*). Tambéra smiles and says that it is she who is suffering, and cruel Kakap is the cause of it. Kakap protests that he had no intention of hurting her. Tambéra opines that her illness must have been ordained by God, but she asks Kakap to help cure her. Kakap is willing, but to find out what is ailing her, he must be allowed to touch her body. This is granted, and he uses the opportunity to apply his love-charm. Gravely he pronounces that the illness has something to do with convulsions (*Pényakit imi bérchampur sawan*), which Ampélung is unable to believe. Tambéra is cured, but is now madly in love with Kakap. A tender and merry conversation ensues, and the hours pass quickly, until at 9 p.m. Kakap takes his leave.

Early on the following day Kakap prepares to visit his lady again, but Mackerel asks whether Kakap is not ashamed to be seen on such an errand in day-time? Ikan Sembilang adds that Mackerel is quite right; the time for such affairs is the evening so that one may escape spying eyes, and with a hint at his poisonous spines he declares that he thinks it his duty to teach manners to those youngsters who do not yet know how to behave. So poor Kakap has to wait, but as soon as night comes hastens to her house, his *kéris* at his left side. Miss Tambéra admires his courage in facing the dangers of the way.

The poet leaves the happy couple behind the mosquito-curtain and ends his *shaer* rather abruptly with a philosophical remark of Sembilang:

" Unless he gets her, he will not return;
He's like a cock, to which the spur is fastened,
And set to fight for fortune or disaster."

7. The Story of the Rose.

(The Singapore lithographed edition, *Shaer Ayér Mawar Bunga* of 1334 A.H., the *shaer* itself dated 1285 A.H., is a jumble; apparently the writer has copied from loose leaves left disconnected with quatrains incomplete or split. Luckily almost all of the quatrains can be found in the Batavia MS. called *Shaer Kémbang Ayér Mawar* presented in 1866 to the Batavia Society by Mr.

H. Gramberg of Palembang. A note in that MS. gives the author of the *shaer* (written 1275 A.H. and consisting of 155 quatrains) as Pangeran Panembahan Bupati, brother of the exiled Sultan of Palembang. Approximately the Singapore edition contains the Palembang quatrains, with many omissions, changes in the pantuns &c. in the following order: 1-15, 76-94, 45-75, 16-44, 95-155. For my précis I have used both versions).

In a wonderful garden, Puspa Khirani, there grow many beautiful flowers, of whom Lady Rose is the most lovely. Her intimate friends (or maids) are the Misses Jasmine (Mélati and Bunga Pékán).

Bird of Paradise, a wealthy travelling merchant, has fallen in love with Lady Rose. He sends Starling to fetch Lory (who lives close to the garden and probably is hand in glove with some of the flowers) and informs this trusted friend of his love for a lady, who has the seven signs of perfect womanhood (like Princess Dayang Séri Java in *Atwang Sulong Merah Muda*, p. 76: *bangsawan, dērmawan, artawan, gunitwan, chumbuan, sa-bénar pérémpuan, sétiawan*). He implores his help to act as go-between. On Lory's suggestion Bird of Paradise writes a letter offering to become his lady's humble servant, and protesting his love in quatrains which are better in the Singapore version.

Since the beginning it has been my wish
 That I might be, my love, your humble servant,
 For you, beloved, are the priceless gem,
 Whose lustre has intoxicated me.
 Well have I looked on many youthful beauties,
 But there was none to equal you, my love.
 And how could anybody equal you,
 So beautiful and sweet, yet kind and wise?
 Sweet is the honey, thought I, and the sugar,
 Much sweeter still to me, my love, your smile.
 Much sweeter still to me, my love, your smile,
 Which brings true passion when the eyes behold it.
 Now every other thing for me has faded,
 Since you, my love, have been revealed to me.

He humbly asks for an answer to his letter, which he folds in the "Yaman" manner and gives to Lory.

Lory goes to the garden, and waits at the gate until he sees one of the maids, Nagasari. Nagasari tells him to wait, and goes in search of her mistress. She comes across the other flowers. Angsana asks what she is doing: Nagasari says she wants to see her mistress on business. Bunga Ayer Gula opines that Angsana is a fool, quoting the old proverb about one's asking what he already knows: *Sudah gaharu chéndana pula, sudah tahu bertanya*

pula. Bunga Télong lets the cat out of the bag; Nagasari is carrying a message from Lory, whom she has seen waiting outside the gate. Miss Chempaka complacently sings that she knows what is afoot even if they talked in whispers about it. Gandasuli opines that it is an affair of *bérjual béri*. (According to a Minangkabau-Malay, himself a travelling merchant, this term means a liaison with option of marriage later, should both parties feel inclined).

Nagasari informs Lady Rose of Lory's wish. But Lady Rose bids her say that she is suffering from headache, is preoccupied and worried and not feeling well. (Did these ladies read Ksemendra's *Samayamatrika?* Because these excuses seem to be literally quoted from ch. V, 68-69 of that curious Manual). He adds:

" If there is anything he wants to say,
It is much better that you bring a message,
Because if I should meet our friend myself,
The very stones perhaps would spread the news."

Nagasari tells Lory that he cannot see Lady Rose. Lory understands that Lady Rose is shy and so he gives his missive to Nagasari to deliver to her mistress. Lady Rose reads the letter but Bird of Paradise has already a wife! So she bids her maid tell the messenger that in spite of his attractions Bird of Paradise is married, and unable to offer her an honourable position.

Nagasari returns to Lory and sings the following pantun:

High grows a coconut near yonder ship,
The waves will shake it, cause its fruits to fall;
A man already married we don't want,
If bachelor, we don't object at all.

Lory replies quickly:

As to the wife of our most noble bird,
That matter I will take upon myself,
I'm sure no trouble will arise from that;
Please listen to your humble servant's words:

There is no kind of cloth you cannot dye,
There is no kind of ruse you may not try,
And who knows who will win and who will lose?"

But Nagasari will hear nothing of that; Lady Rose comes of a good family and cannot condescend to any *choba-choha*.

— Lory leaves. Dove meets him and asks what is worrying him. Lory replies evasively. He returns to Bird of Paradise and informs him that there is no definite reply, and that he must be patient. The maid Nagasari had informed him that "the flower" is reluctant to have a lord who has already a wife, as she had higher hopes. But Lady Rose is shy and Bird of Paradise should be patient and

not trouble her with further messages; if she could not find a way out of the dilemma, she would return his letter. Bird of Paradise agrees.

Lady Rose asks Nagasari if she has seen Lory lately, and when she is told that the messenger has not shown himself for some time, she becomes sad, but conceals her sorrow. (The author adds that women should learn from Lady Rose, as most of them display their hearts and cleverly as they may try to hide it, all is known to their husbands).

Bird of Paradise slowly recognises that though Lady Rose loves him, she honours her mother, and her mother will never give her to a man already married. Persisting in this hopeless love will only ruin his (her?) reputation. So he resigns himself to God's will, leaves the country and goes to Jaya. Soon afterwards he dies in Batavia.

(H. C. Klinkert has seen in this *shaer*—provided his *Shaer Bunga Ayér Mawar* was identical with it—an imitation of the *Shaer Ikan Téribok*. I beg to differ. At first I took this *shaer* as a serious story of an offer of marriage and its refusal. But then the offer would hardly have been made to the girl direct as in the poem? So I incline to the interpretation given above, especially after reading the *Shaer Kumbang Chumbuan Sakti*. Probably those ladies, as in ancient India, had their own code of honour which forbade a liaison with a married man. Bird of Paradise may have had his wife with him, although this is not evident from the poem—and the "mother" referred to may have been the matron indispensable to such ladies. If this is correct, I suggest that this poem originated in the circles of Lady Rose or of Lory, and that the Pangeran mentioned above is not the author: there seem to be older copies than the Palembang MS. in Batavia).

8. The Story of the Coaxing Bumble-Bee.

Bumble-Bee apparently is a travelling merchant, and at the port where he is staying during the trading-season conceives an ardent passion for Lady Jasmine, no prude but particular. Bumble-Bee sends Lady Jasmine a letter protesting his love and asking to become her humble servant, as he cannot live without her. At night he roams near her house singing pantuns. And one afternoon, under the pretence of gathering its fruit, Bumble-Bee climbs into a bérémibang-tree near her house, and getting a glimpse of her, pours out another string of quatrains.

Lovely as a picture Lady Jasmine is sitting, surrounded by friends, and "just to amuse them," sings a string of verses:—

As you are married, Sir, we are afraid,
Were you a bachelor, it would not be wrong.

Were you a bachelor, it would not be wrong,
 There would be nobody who could object.
 There would be nobody who could object.
 As love is still the custom of our world.
 If at your summons I should yield myself,
 What then about your humble servant's words?
 What then about your humble servant's words?
 Let not your feelings, Sir, outweigh your judgment.
 Let not your feelings, Sir, outweigh your judgment,
 And, noble Sir, don't play us wanton tricks,
 And, noble Sir, don't play us wanton tricks,
 Because that's not the custom of true manhood.
 It's not the way of men of noble birth;
 They scatter bounty to the common people.
 They scatter bounty to the common people,
 And are not sorry for it in their heart.
 So be not sorry for it in your heart,
 And always let your hand be free and open.
 Yes always let your hand be free and open,
 So you can live in peace and happiness,
 So you may live in peace and happiness,
 Your name be famous and distinguished.

Her friends applaud. Kumbang, though delighted by her voice, withdraws and in vain tries to console himself. He is encouraged by the quatrains of Siti Anjong, a friend of Lady Jasmine, who sings that her lady's verses must not be taken seriously; Lady Jasmine was afraid of being compromised before her friends. She awaits his coming, as it is long since she has had a lover. So one evening Bumble-Bee penetrates into her house and meets Lady Jasmine. He overcomes her shyness with a torrent of sweet words and sweeter quatrains, and they become a very happy couple (during the rest of the trading-season?).

At last Bumble-Bee must return to his country. He promises that within three months he will return, and asks her to give him the cloth she has worn as a token of remembrance. His love will never end, but

If I should come to die, love, in my grief,
 Oh, bathe me in the water of your eyes,
 Give me as shroud a cloth which you have worn,
 And pay a weekly visit to my grave!

Then he gives her about 70 quatrains of "sound advice." She must take good care of her name:

Be very careful that you don't cause scandal,
 As that will not wear out in a thousand years;
 Your bones, dear, may have long bleached in your grave,
 But scandal will remain alive for ever.

She should not walk with youthful lovers who can compromise her; when going out she should be accompanied by a boy or an old man, as a means to keep impudent fellows at a distance. If she has visitors, she should be modest and reserved and not be like the hornbill (*i.e.* living in a grand, noisy style), goods gone, house and compound in the hands of a Chetty, and a miserable old age ahead. She should be respectful to elders and not talk scandal of her friends. (Here he adds: *Pandan tidak tahuhan duri*, which according to *Kiliran Budi*, No. 767, means *badan tidak tahuhan diri*). She should not covet riches: fine behaviour and good manners are more worth than dollars and florins. Mr. Sparrow (*burong raja*) has a large shop and many servants and is said to be a wealthy man, but his manners are coarse, and people keep away from him. She should not try to make a diamond out of common stone or glass, as only a diamond will keep its lustre, however low it may fall. Should she wish to marry, she should tie slow to choose: her husband must be of good family, wealthy, a true believer, and of good breeding and manners. The lack of one of these qualities will lead to unhappiness. She must not be blinded by youth, beauty, noble origin or high rank. This advice she should remember, if she should have any children, in choosing a husband for her daughter. There is a story I cannot fathom about a widow Murai, who, when her daughter Chintamani was married to Nuri, was slandered by Starling for having given birth quite recently to a little daughter, who actually was six years old. With varied advice the poem ends rather abruptly.

This poem of about 200 quatrains I take to have been written by Bumble-Bee, who probably intended it to be an *ars amandi* for his fellow-bees. The poem seems to have run into several editions. From the Malay and some Dutch words (*paal, setali*) I should say that the writer was a Malay from Palembang or Medan.

9. Love's Longings, or The Bird of Paradise.

Péksi Dewata (Bird of Paradise) is a young merchant said to have come from Kuripan, a kingdom of Old-Java, the home of the hero of the Panji tales, but his real home is probably one of the larger trading-centres on the east coast of Sumatra. He travels with his friend ground-dove (Tékukur), visits the Malabar coast and thence proceeds to Bandan Perak in the country of Surati. Everywhere he meets friends; at Bandan Perak Nutmeg-Pigeon offers to introduce him to pleasant society:

Of what use to leave flowers in the garden?
Their sweet scent gives us joy in our life.
If you would like to find a good companion,
I should be glad to guide you as your compass.
Pomegranate-Blossom is a flower's name,
As beautiful she is as the new moon;
You cannot look into her eyes for long,
It would corrupt the thoughts of pious scholars.

But Pëksi Dewata and Tëkukur think it a dangerous adventure for strangers, although Gëroda offers to accompany them, an old man but fond of showing "off":

Let me, your father, go along with you,
What does it matter? I'm already old,
With but a single tooth on either side,
And crooked and doubled up with age.
Among their friends is also Kite,
Who, if he saw by chance a human chicken,
Was ever and again for catching it.

So the two youths return to their parents (who now live at Surati, but the author is hopelessly confused as regards countries and places). They travel to Bélanta Pura, where they lodge in the house of Lory, who is a learned teacher (*pandita*) with numberless offspring. Bélanta Pura is a busy commercial town, the main trade being piecegoods for sale in the shops along the seashore, where you can drive many a good bargain. Here Pëksi Dewata enjoys himself, travelling up and down the river buying and selling, his customers being jungle folk (*yang mëmbilî itu këra dan lutong*). He sees many "flowers," two to his liking, one Miss Jasmine (who remains in his heart up to the present day) the other Miss Basil, who for the time crowds out his former love, but by the will of God she slips through his fingers, and he concludes that it is his fate never to be happy in his love. His unlucky fate he bemoans in 33 quatrains. Kite admonishes him to bear his fate as a man; Gëroda warns him against doing anything mean, as they are living in the house of a Holy Man. Bird of Paradise protests that he has no such intention, being brought up in the right way by a pious father.

His friends advise him to return to his own country. Pëksi Dewata agrees, but falls ill. Bélanta Pura is ruled by the Eagle, who sends a messenger to Pëksi Dewata with medicine, but Pëksi Dewata refuses help and also declines the aid of the Prime Minister (*përdana mënteri*) who is well versed in the art of healing.

Here ends the story of the Bird of Paradise,

Who, living in the house of the wise Lory,
Spends every day in longing and in love
For those two flowers; both alas those blossoms
Slipped through his hands, being as slippery
As eggs of which the shell has been removed,
And he has nothing left but empty dust!

(This *shaer* of 116 quatrains is one of those poems not infrequent in Malay poetry, which contains hardly any action, but an unlimited indulgence in self-pity producing endless lamentations).

10. The Mosquito and the Fly.

(The two Batavia MSS. of this *shaer* are both parts of collections of *shaer* and *pantun* joined together and jotted down 1934] Royal Asiatic Society.

for Circulating Libraries. It consists of about 360 quatrains, more or less identical in both versions; the one has a few more *pantun* whilst the other has a longer introduction. The *shaer* in both versions is a fragment, though in one of them it is called *tamat*. The *Shaer Lalat dan Nyamuk* in Leiden also seems to be unfinished).

Fly is a youth who has fallen vehemently in love with exquisite Miss Mosquito. Of those who saw her it may be said:

He was not killed by any poison,
He was killed by a sidelong glance.

Fly is suffering dreadfully from his love, and when Bari-bari or Fruit-fly (probably an old woman in the service of, or acquainted with Fly) asks what ails him, he implores her aid, which she readily promises. At her suggestion Lalat writes a letter, in which he compares Mosquito to a small snake that has bitten the stem of his heart and injected poison that is penetrating to the top of his hair, and he asks her for an antidote. This letter with a present, Fruit-fly is to take to Miss Mosquito.

Fruit-fly finds Mosquito amongst her maids. Mosquito sends Sand-fly to ask what she wants. Fruit-fly and Sand-fly are old friends, and Fruit-fly is taken to Mosquito, who receives her graciously with betel. She presents the letter from Fly. Mosquito gives it to Sand-fly to read and send a humble answer. Sand-fly probably had a well-assorted stock of drafts to answer the letters received by her mistress and writes a very nice and humble letter, saying that Mosquito cannot accept Fly's love, as she is far below him in station. She is a humble basil, which even bumble-bees and butterflies pass by. Scandal is sure to arise, people would say that a jungle mosquito was trying to devour an elephant and would choke. So with the utmost respect she declines the offer. Mosquito returns the presents and sends Fruit-fly back to her master. Fruit-fly disconcerted pleads Fly's cause as well as she can, but has to leave.

Fly nearly faints when he reads Mosquito's letter. Fruit-fly suggests that he should implore the aid of Hornet (*tabuhan*) who is skilful in love-charms, in order to get his revenge on Mosquito who having first caused Fly to fall in love with her, is now slighting him. (Of these former flirtations nothing is said in the *shaer*). His anger aroused, Fly hastens to Hornet, informs him that a woman has played with him and asks for a charm that will bring her to his feet. Hornet agrees to send a *Polong* (a familiar spirit) to worry Mosquito day and night, and to Fly he gives a charm with instructions how to use it. Fly goes home and takes a ceremonial bath. A fire and a compass are in readiness, and withdrawing to his room and facing the compass, Fly practises the charm Hornet has given him. Soon Mosquito burns with passionate longing for Fly, his image always before her eyes. She confesses

to Sand-fly, opining that Fly has brought her into this wretched condition by occult practices. Sand-fly has just seen Fruit-fly near the corner of the garden and hastens to question her. Both of course are surprised to see each other. Sand-fly casually remarks that she is troubled by Mosquito's sudden illness; Fruit-fly thinks perhaps she knows somebody who can cure her. They part, and Fruit-fly informs Fly. She then visits Mosquito; Sand-fly admits her to the lady's bedside, and Fruit-fly bewails Mosquito's pitiable condition. But her own master, Fly, is suffering from the same illness; he has but one wish, and that is to pay his respects to Mosquito. The lady replies that she has to ask Fly's forgiveness, and is quite willing to become his humble slave. Fruit-fly informs her master, who dresses himself in his best and is brought at dusk by Fruit-fly to Mosquito's house. Entering quickly by the back-door, Fly steals into her bedroom, where he hides behind the pillows. At last the lady retires and slips under the coverlet; Fly jumps up and seizes her in his arms. She tries to escape, but he overwhelms her with protestations of love and sweet endearments, till at last, after a few sidelong glances, she pinches his lips and tells him not to say more.

"Do not forget the days that are to come
 As long as passion rages in its madness,
 You are unconscious of all shame and scandal.
 The poison you have drunk you call it sugar,
 A common pebble you'll take for a jewel,
 And you yourself think true the words you say,
 Because they do agree with your heart's passion.
 But when you have obtained what you desire,
 Then far I from your heart, lost to your sight."

Fly swears that his love is eternal, and a witty duel of pantuns ensues.

(Here the longest version ends. The text is rather jumbled, and a close comparison of the two Batavia MSS. did not make it much clearer. I trust, however, that the above interpretation is fairly correct, and though it is not evident who Fly really is, probably this *shaer* falls properly under my heading).

Didactic Shaers.

11. The Birds.

(According to the Singapore lithographed edition of 1332 A.H.).

In this *shaer*, containing 325 quatrains, different birds discuss the tenets and doctrines of Islam, the Lory presiding. They all agree that in youth they have cared little for religion, only a few of them having, for a short time, attended a religious teacher. As they are drawing nearer the World to Come, they trust to elucidate by this discussion their religious duties, by observing which they hope to attain salvation. It is a didactic poem, the

earnest discussion being only once interrupted by a comical interlude caused by the Peacock and the Pied Pigeon having eaten too many sweetmeats.

(According to Prof. Dr. van Ronkel in his above-mentioned paper this and similar bird *shaer* are clumsy imitations, or rather attempts at imitation of the Persian poem "The Bird-Discussion" (*Mantik at-tajr*) of 4650 verses, written by Muhammad bin Ibrahim, called a Nishapuri after his native town and murdered about 1230 A.D. by soldiers of Jengiz Khan. Van Ronkel gives a short account of this famous poem and mentions Malay version of the *Shaer Unggas* or *Shaer Burong*).

12. The Wise Parakeet.

This is another version of the *Shaer Unggas*, wherein the discussion is presided over and lead by the Bayan. The contents are more or less the same as those of the above *shaer*.

Malay Shaeri from Java.

(Although some of these could have been classified under other headings, I have preferred to put them in a separate class, owing to the great difference in style and language between them and the "true" Malay *shaer*. Although Batavia is considered by some authors to be a linguistic enclave of Malay in Java, Batavia-Malay is a language of its own, containing nearly as many admixtures as the conglomerate which during the three hundred years of her existence has formed the population of that town. It stands half-way between "real" Malay and Bazaar-Malay. It is the language not only of the Malayan races, but also that of Chinese *Peranakan*, and not so long ago, was the language of a section of the Eurasian population. It has its own literature, not so much in written prose as in poetry written and unwritten, and perhaps from Batavia the *Keronchong* singing of pantuns to the accompaniment of guitars and mandolines has spread over the Archipelago; this music, based on Portuguese instruments and tunes, is still practised in Malacca. There are many *shaer* in this Batavia-Malay, or one may call it Java-Malay, but of the Animal- and Flower-class there seem to be few, and we may assume that they have been composed by writers of "real" Malay origin. That there are more than those I have been able to trace, may be surmised from the list at the end of the *Shaer Buah Buahan*. But even if composed by writers of "real" Malay descent, such *shaer* show a decided difference from the "real" Malay *shaer*. They are more popular, more vulgar lacking the refinement of thought and word found in the "real" Malay *shaer*, though they remain far from the grossness of some Javanese poems. The little realistic stories they contain are not without points of interest).

13. Fruit.

(The MS. of this *shaer* in Batavia comes from a Native Circulating Library; the writer, Mohamad Bakr, living in, and most probably a native of Batavia, is a scribe by profession who earns his living by hiring out his "works" at the rate of ten cents a night. He writes in Batavia Malay, with many purely local terms and some Chinese words; the metre is often irregular, and the spelling rather curious. Apparently he wrote solely for the Batavia public, and the stories embodied in his *shaer* were probably at the time of writing (the MS. is dated 22nd November 1896) well-known local events. The MS. is illustrated with some coloured drawings of the fruits and flowers mentioned therein.

The proper *Shaer Buah-buahan* consists of 542 quatrains, and is followed by another *shaer*).

In the garth Flower-Pleasance (*Sukasari*) lives Miss Grape, a lovely girl of a good and wealthy family, far surpassing in beauty her many girl-friends, Rambutan, Duku and others. Duku is clever in verses and the wit of the company. Chémpédak and Langsat are her servant-maids; of the former the following nice description is given (which may also serve as a specimen of the style):

Chémpédak orang-nya bopeng,
Laku-nya chandal, mulut-nya bengkeng,
Kélakuan-nya séperti pérémpan hoe-keng,
Yang suka dengan main di-pangkeng.¹

Though always the obedient servant of her mistress, she is insolent to everybody else.

The girls, who have just attained marriageable age, lead a very happy life. They have all learned to read and write, and are fond of reading romance and poems. One day they are reading aloud in turn the *Hikayat Sultan Thaburat* and thoroughly enjoy its love-adventures, though Duku at first refuses to read aloud when her turn comes. (About this *Hikayat* see the MSS. catalogue of the Batavian Society, where under No. 214-217, pp. 194-203, an account of the first 1800 pages is given. The catalogue says that it has been written by the owner of a Circulating Library—probably the Muhammad Bakr mentioned above). Chémpédak regrets that there is not more company to enjoy the story with them and wonders where Custard-Apple (*Séríkaya*) is, who is generally there. Have the other girls frightened her away? Chémpédak and Kukusan are sent to fetch her; Kukusan is angry as she would have preferred to listen to the story, and scolds Chémpédak when they cannot find Custard-Apple's house. They

(1) 花 (2) 果
間 間

ask Papaya, who does not listen to them as she is hurrying to market, and the temper of both rising, they start to squabble in the middle of the road. Custard-Apple, who is on her way to Grape and is trying to evade Buah Nona, of whose tale-bearing she is afraid, sees the two women quarrelling and approaches them. Very glad to have met her, they cease squabbling and deliver their message. They tell her that the *Hikayat Pandawa*, *Hikayat Raja Bérmadewa* and *Hikayat Raden Chilik*, all of which can be hired (this probably is another little advertisement of the scribe), are being read by Grape and her friends, and that she is invited to join them. Custard-Apple hastens to the house, where Duku is reading with a shrill voice audible outside, to the great amusement of the passers-by. When Chémpédak enters, Duku changes her voice to that of a man, but is rather wild when she hears that Sérikaya is outside. Sérikaya is admitted and has to read to them until evening, which she does so well that when they part all girls are still under the influence of the love-passages they have heard, and each dreams of a suitor. So the days pass, the girls neglecting everything for the stories.

In the beautiful Garden of Gloom (*Dukasari*) lives Pomegranate with his friends Nangka, Durian, Manggis and other handsome and noble youths. Pomegranate, the most noble, equals in rank Miss Grape, and possesses the twelve qualities of a perfect youth. Men and women love him, but he is still unmarried. One night he dreams of a most beautiful bird; the remembrance of his dream makes him sad, and to console himself he goes bird-hunting with his blow-pipe, accompanied by two friends. They see a lory and following it come to the garth Flower-Pleasant, where Grape lives. None of them knows to whom the garden belongs. They enter. Hunting the lory they come to Grape's house: Pomegranate hits the bird, but it disappears into the compound of the house. Drawing nearer they hear women reading *shaer* and *hikayat*, and spying through the fence they see Grape and her friends. Pomegranate falls in love with Grape, Manggo with Rambutan, and Mangosteen with Duku. Mangosteen opens the fencing a little, and Duku, who is coming out "to look at the flowers" sees him. Their eyes meet, but Duku, much frightened, hurries back and whispers to Rambutan that three handsome youths are spying at them. Rambutan prowling like a thief near the fence looks at them, but Manggo spies her and cannot help uttering a few tender words, which breach of etiquette frightens the girl so much that trembling she runs into the house. Her friends enquire what has happened. Chémpédak is sent to reconnoitre. At last Rambutan narrates what has happened, complaining bitterly of the lack of manners in a youth who, unknown to her, has dared to address her.

Meanwhile Pomegranate has carried off his friends, saying that their good name and that of the girls forbids their spying into

the house like thieves and coolies; if they want to know the girls, they must do so by lawful means. But his love for Grape is not less passionate than that of Manggo for Rambutan, and of Mangosteen for Duku. He feels

Like a fish that has swallowed the bait,
Like a sick man delirious,
A crossbeam crushed by the weight of the floor,
Like soil that has just been hoed,
Like a high tree shaken by storm,
Blown about its bud and flowers;
If its roots have not strength to hold out,
The tree is sure to topple.

But though suffering in mind and body, he does not let passion overrule his prudence.

At Grape's dwelling the girls are thoroughly disturbed. Thinking of robbers and thieves they search the garden, and return to their homes, one accompanying the other, in such fear that for a long time they dare not meet again. Their parents, too, will not allow them to go out, as many keronchong-troops of Eurasians and Christians were making the town unsafe for decent girls, for

If once a fruit-bat nibbles at a fruit,
There is no chance for any one to save her;
She will be full of holes, decay and rot,
As those birds will make use of their occasion.

For a while the happy life of the girls has ended.

A long time passes. Pomegranate has often been near Grape's house (without seeing her), but his love does not fade, and he decides to make through Banana an offer for the girl's hand and to ask for a meeting. Jack-fruit, who is visiting him, is sent to fetch Banana; to her Pomegranate opens his heart and asks her to convey his message to the girl's parents, offering any marriage-gift they may desire. At Banana's request, Pomegranate writes a humble letter to the parents, which, sprinkled with perfume, Banana carries on a tray to Grape's house. She is afraid to enter, but meets Sawo, an old acquaintance of hers, who takes her to the house and burning with curiosity plies her with questions until he knows her errand. Banana meets Grape's mother, who writes agreeing to the proposal and stating the marriage-gift she expects. Everything runs smoothly. An auspicious day is chosen for the marriage, to be performed by the Reverend Mr. Date-fruit (Tuan Imam Khurma), to whose house bridegroom and bride proceed, accompanied by their friends. The ceremony performed, they return to their homes, to meet again at the house of the bride. Many guests are invited, and the Reverend Date-fruit is also present. It is a gay feast, and love-glances between the youths and the girls are exchanged on a grand scale. A sword-dance is performed by the friends of the bridegroom. There are contests of religious

dances and songs between rival groups, defeat exciting laughter. Mangosteen and Duku, Manggo and Rambutan now have a chance of seeing each other freely, and the youths make most of the opportunity; many other attachments are formed. At last the party breaks up; Imam Date-fruit is loaded with presents and returns home with his pockets full of good things for his wife and children, this being the reason why he is always eager to attend such festivities.

Manggo has presented Rambutan with a bracelet. Sawo, in love with Sérikaya, has given her a ring, and even Chémpédak has found a suitor in Nangka, who has given her a beautiful hairpin. Mangosteen has given Duku a silken shawl which she loves so much that she takes it with her to bed. (The author adds here that hence comes the custom that if one buys *duku*-fruits, they must always be wrapped up in a shawl [*sélampai*]).

Pomegranate and Grape are very happy. Of the other couples, Mango is passionately in love with Rambutan and even ventures to send her a love-letter, which Rambutan, being a prudent girl, leaves unanswered, and as poor Mango has nobody whom he can send to discover his lady's feelings, he goes to visit the learned Mr. Maize (*Pandita Jagong*), who is famous for his love-charms. The white-bearded, white-robed sage, who for years has practised austerities, lives in a Chinese cemetery. It is a long and difficult path, but with the help of Cucumber, who first takes him for a robber, Mango at last reaches the sage's dwelling. He is much afraid when he sees the white bird of the sage fluttering in the wind like a flag, but gathering courage he approaches him and is taught, for fourteen half-cent-pieces, a charm and the way to work it. Rambutan becomes mad with longing for Mango and agrees to what he proposes; they meet before witnesses in the house of Durian, the district headman, where a ceremonial meal is given costing forty silver-florins. They are duly married in the house of Imam Date-fruit, Mr. Yam, the *bilal*, assisting, and are very happy in their married life.

Sawo in his love for Custard-Apple is very unhappy; he is not rich and Sérikaya plays the prude. At last he opens his heart to Manggo, who sends him to venerable Mr. Maize. Sawo obtains a charm so that Sérikaya is soon making advances to him, but Sawo feigns coolness, until she has compromised herself. Sérikaya's mother is much ashamed, but the old people arrange the matter, and Imam Date-fruit has again to officiate.

Then Mangosteen and Duku are married; Mangosteen, though not wealthy, is received into Duku's family on account of his fine manners and handsome presence.

Chémpédak disappears. After seven days and nights she is discovered in the house of Jack-fruit, to the surprise of the other

fruits. These two are also married, and the poem concludes with verses describing the joys of marriage, praising Pomegranate and Grape as an example. Both pray day and night that even death may not part them, and their prayer is granted, "as will be told hereafter."

(By this last sentence the author connects this *shaer* with the following one, a poor though curious poem of 400 quatrains. In the first *shaer* the human love-story, this time quite moral, is easily recognised; the second poem does not allow of a similar interpretation. I can hardly trace any connection between the two except that a Pomegranate and a Grape play a part in both. The first *shaer* could be connected with the second as follows. At their death Pomegranate and Grape reincarnated in fruits of the same name in the second *shaer*, cause the death of the faithful Chinese couple and are reincarnated again as insects. But such an explanation seems far fetched, and probably the writer has simply made an artificial connection between the poems. The second poem may have had its origin in some local Chinese legend, and may even, to judge from the style, have already existed in the form of a *shaer* of local Chinese origin).

A Chinese gentleman has a dearly-loved wife. He has spent tens of thousands on doctors and medicines with no avail. One day she longs for a pomegranate and a bunch of grapes, and after much trouble the husband finds the fruit in the garth Flower-pleasure, and pays the seven dollars the owner asks for them. His wife eats of both fruits and dies; the husband's only consolation is that he has fulfilled her last wish, and he keeps with a certain veneration what she has left over of the fruits. (Here a somewhat confused comparison is made between the love of Pomegranate and Grape and that of the Chinese and his wife). He has his wife buried with due ceremonies, the tomb is embellished with flowers and a profusion of white jasmine is planted around it. All this the widower does with his own hands, hardly eating and drinking. He has only one wish, to be reunited with his wife, and when he returns from his work exhausted, he tells his neighbours that if his time should come, he wishes to be buried at the right side of his wife, for which purpose he sets aside ample funds, the remainder of his fortune to be used for charitable purposes. Besides other trees and flowers, his grave should be planted with Chēmpaka-trees, to correspond with the jasmine of his wife. He works out the plan in detail as if the day of his death had been fixed. And one day at the hottest time of the year, the widower, returning thirsty from the tomb of his wife, eats the remnants of the pomegranate and the grapes and dies. His wishes are duly carried out. A paradise of blossoming trees and flowers encloses the two tombs, attracting many birds and insects. Among them two beetles of a kind and beauty never

before seen never leave the tomb and give rise to many strange rumours. Generally the male keeps to the Chēmpaka, the female to the Mēlati-flowers, but they are true lovers, and in moonlight they fly together exchanging love-words, songs and pantuns (which occasion the author uses to vary a few pantuns dozens of times by simply changing the name of the flower and the corresponding rhymes). As at that time the people of the place were clumsy at making bouquets and wreaths, the beetles show them by biting off flowers, arranging them artistically and dropping them in front of market flower-sellers whose bouquets show some natural taste, and who eagerly imitate this new and beautiful fashion. At last these insects teach people the art of writing on flowers (illustrated). Each of them writes verses on the petals of flowers, which they arrange in two beautiful bouquets, dropping one before the queen, who is sitting in her palace with her daughters and ladies-in-waiting, and the other before the king. The arrangement of the flowers and the clever writing on them are greatly admired, and the art spreads over the country. A search is made to discover the "kumbang hijau," who has mentioned his name in the writing, but without result.

(This curious *shaer*, which is of very inferior quality, ends with the usual *captatio benevolentie* and an advertisement that besides many other books the writer has fourteen *shaer* in his circulating library, which he recommends to the public, the hire to be paid in cash:

1. *Shaer Sang Chapung* (the Dragon-fly).
2. " *Anggur dan Dalima* (most probably the above).
3. " *Kakap dan Tambéra* (see above).
4. " *Burong Bayan dan Nuri*, narrating that Nuri asks Bayan in marriage, but is refused, until Tēkukur helps.
5. " *Rinum Sari*, the story of a prince who obsessed by demons holds another woman for his wife. (Possibly an episode out of the writer's *Hikayat Sultan Thaburat*).
6. " *Bunga-bungaan*.
7. " *Jéruk Jépun dan Jéruk manis* (a love-story).
8. " *Jangkérék dan Gangsir* (do.).
9. " *Nyamuk dan Ageh-agas* (do.).
10. " *Tawon dan Kumbang* (do.).
11. " *Lalér dan Nyawon* (do.).
12. " *Kembang Ros* (*Shaer Bunga Ayer Mawar!* A love story).
13. " *Binatang hután*.
14. " *Kuyan-kuyan* (*Konong-konang*, fire-fly?).

If those *shaer* which are not otherwise known were the product of the writer's fancy, the world should not be much poorer by the loss of them, though they may be of interest as illustrating Batavia-Malay life at that time. Muhammad Bakr seems to have been a real "penny-a-liner," who could dash off anything required for the "market." That there ever was a market for his stuff, does not say much for the literary taste of his public).

14. The Butterfly, the Flowers and the Green Mantis. (with a moral).

(The MS. in Batavia is part of a book bought of a Native Circulating Library. Preceding it in the book is a *Shaer Siti Dsawijjah*, dd. Pontianak 1864, copied 15th September 1893. Dr. van Ronkel states in his Catalogue that the Palembang-*shaer*, of which an edition has been published in Singapore 1297 A.H., has in this and another MS. belonging to the Royal Batavian Society been "modernized" in the Batavian style with many European words. The "author" of this *Shaer Sang Kupu* is again Muhammad Bakr [bin Shafian bin Othman], who most probably is responsible for the corruption of the Palembang-*shaer*, and the book may have been one of his own Circulating Library. The style is much like that of the *Shaer Buah-Buahan*, and very poor. According to the author the poem has a moral [*akan juga jadi nasihat*]; it may be based on a local event wellknown at that time among the "fashionable" youths).

Butterfly is a handsome and well-to-do youth, but an unscrupulous lady-killer. Always well dressed, he flutters from one garden to another, to the detriment of all the beautiful flowers. He makes love to everyone of them; his looks and languishing manner make him irresistible, and every flower believes his vows of eternal fidelity, thinks that she is his only love, and is easily seduced to allow him to steal her honey. But Butterfly is a rascal. He robs the sweetest flower

With his proboscis which is like a needle,
Softly caressing her as if in love;
But honey gone, buzzing he flies away,

leaving the poor flower to her fate. This sad fate of flowers who have lost their honey the author describes at length as a warning to all thoughtless maidens.

At last fate overtakes Mr. Butterfly. In search for new adventures he sees, resting at the foot of a tree, Balang Daun (the Green Mantis), a form of perfect beauty, with long hair bound as Javanese women wear it. Butterfly is thunderstruck, and it takes time until he can arrange his thoughts to address Balang with sweet words. But Balang, shy and embarrassed by such endearments, flies away.

Butterfly, afraid to follow, now undergoes the same torment as the flowers he has always deserted so perfidiously. He learns that Balang belongs to a family of formidable ruffians, thieves, robbers and rowdies. Butterfly is afraid to venture near them, and unable to banish the thought of Balang from his mind, spends his days in misery, a just punishment for his own behaviour towards the flowers.

(A Minangkabau Malay explained that Balang must be an insect of the same sex as Butterfly, and the description fits a boy, though the sex is not stated in the poem. And such a plot is unknown to Malays).

15. The Jéntayu.

(The MS. of this *shaer* in Batavia is part of a MS. book formerly in the possession of Abbé Favre, whose Malay-French Dictionaries were published in 1875/1880. It is written in an antique hand in romanized Malay, spelt more or less phonetically in a curious mixture of the Dutch and English systems. The book bears no date; it contains among other texts a poem on the fighting at Kaliwungu near Sémarang in 1763 A.H. [Sir! if this is not an error for A.D., probably the Javanese year 1763 is meant, corresponding with approximately 1833 A.D.].

The Jéntayu is a legendary bird that is believed to be always calling for rain, "like the Jéntayu awaiting a shower" is a symbol of impatient longing. [Wilkinson, s.v. "Jentayu"]).

In Sémarang live many beautiful birds, loveliest of all Jéntayu, though she is of European descent (*anak Belanda*, probably Eurasian). One afternoon she decides to visit the (?) *Kiambang* bird, an old gossip whose trade it is to peddle jewellery (and probably to be a procuress). Assisted by her maids *Mynah* (*tiong*) and *Parrakeet* (*bayan*) Jéntayu takes a bath, dons her best dress, and with her friend Pigeon (*merpati*) saunters forth, followed by maids who carry the betel-requisites. Aunty Kiambang is very glad to see them, and they sit down to a chat, tea, sweetmeats, and a game of cards for stakes.

At that time there sojourned at Sémarang Imperial Dove (*pérgam*), originally a native of Sémarang, but residing at Mempawah (Dutch East Borneo). He is paying a visit to his native town for business and study, and one afternoon, tired of reading and writing, he pays a visit to the house of Kiambang, accompanied by his servant Starling. He sees Jéntayu and falls head over heels in love, but is too shy to address her. Kiambang, seeing his condition, takes him behind the house and warns him that Jéntayu is a bird of the town, of heavenly origin, and not of the same race as they are. Jéntayu, having observed Pérgam's amorous glances, has shyly slipped into the house. Kiambang and

Mérpati resume their game of cards; Përgam joins them and looks so unhappy at Jéntayu having disappeared, that Kiambang chaffs him. Imperial Dove says that there is reason for it, and enters the house by the back-door. He finds Jéntayu, takes her hand and ardently declares his love. Jéntayu regards him with no great favour. Is Përgam mad? If the lories (probably friends of her own race of Sémarang) should happen to see him, they would cut him to pieces. Përgam laughs and is not afraid; Jéntayu tries to send him away as she wants to wash her face. Përgam obligingly offers to wash her, whereupon Jéntayu throws the water over him. Përgam laughs and says that as his *sarong* is wet, will she give him hers? Jéntayu makes a last effort to escape, but Përgam takes hold of her, and with sweet words and soft caresses succeeds in overcoming her resistance. Late in the night, past one o'clock,

Di-angkat Përgam di-bawa-nya bangun,
Di-pimpin tangan di-bawa-nya turun,
Leher di-péluk, pipi di-chium,
Baru-lah hidup rasa-nya ningsun.

(With his quatrain the poem ends rather abruptly. I imagine that Përgam went home and composed this *shaer*, and though this adventure of his should perhaps not have been celebrated in song, I don't think I should have excluded this little idyll from this collection).

16. Saffron.

(The MS. of the *Shaer Kumkuma* in Batavia forms part of the MS. book formerly in the possession of Abbé Favre. It is written by the same hand as the *Shaer Jéntayu*, also in romanized Malay and with the same Dutch-English phonetic spelling).

The poem is really a string of twenty *pantun bérkait* of thinly veiled erotical tendency. The first two lines of the quatrains consist of a rather incoherent jingle, and it seems that the writer knew the second two lines by heart and has made up the first two lines simply to get the rhyme, without taking trouble to compose something artistic containing the "veiled thought" as in the instances given in *Pantun Mélalu*. The second lines form a fairly coherent whole, ending with the request:

Love of my heart, come now, my lady,
Show us the way to heaven on earth!

What he understands by *shorga dunia* the poet has explained in the previous verses.

(This title seems to be derived from the first word of the first line and has nothing to do with the contents. It is not impossible that Mr. Përgam is also the author of this poem. He may have used the verses in his adventure described in the *Shaer Jéntayu*).

17. The New Story of the Fishes.

A very inferior *shaer*, written by Muhammad Hasan in Batavia-Malay, which he calls *bahasa Melayu champuran*, and published by order of Charles John Batten, (official ?) interpreter (*Jurubahasa*) of Malay at Batavia.

In 121 quatrains the poem narrates that the sea-fishes and the fresh-water-fishes went to study religion, the former under the guidance of the Ikan Selar, the latter under that of Ikan Bētuk. Soon there is jealousy between the two factions, and the Ikan Lundu of the sea, and the freshwater Lundu, though outwardly very pious, take great pleasure in making mischief between the two parties. But though the fishes of the present time have advanced in science, their morals and manners have degenerated. The two parties meet at religious singing matches but Ikan Chēchereh, a frivolous youth, soon introduces wordly songs and instruments; the girls are attracted, and the assemblies degenerate into dancing and love-making. This causes the author to bewail the decay of present times.

18. The Story of Mr. Bee.

(A new story in mixed Malay).

A wretched piece of work in Batavia-Malay, composed according to the title-page by Charles John Batten. It consists of 54 quatrains, 5 of which are stated to be pantuns, but in fact are exceedingly poor doggerel-rhymes. The poem contains the story of Mr. Bee, who through his industry has acquired wealth and has a large family. Tired of the industrial and secluded life he visits the capital, gets into bad company, learns to drink and is foully murdered, whereupon the villains he had associated with murder his wife and plunder his house. Which sad events are held up as a warning example.





HUMAN REMAINS FROM ROCK-SHELTERS AND CAVES IN PERAK, PAHANG AND PERLIS AND FROM SELINSING.

By W. L. H. DUCKWORTH, M.D., SC.D., M.A., Cambridge.

I. SUMMARY.

As the result of a survey of these fragmentary remains, I am able to point out resemblances between these cave-dwellers of Perak and some other human types. It will be seen that the cave-dwellers comprise some individuals of pygmy stature, together with others who attain to the average stature of Western Europeans. The confusion of the remains is so complete as to make a final allocation of the limb bones to the crania almost impossible. But the small dimensions of several of the crania are in harmony with the characters of the diminutive limb bones so that they may be associated, and when this has been done they point to the existence of small dolichocephalic individuals with slender limbs as the more frequently occurring occupants of the caves and rockshelters. The taller individuals must not be overlooked, even though there is so great a lacuna in regard to the evidence concerning their head form, and they will receive consideration in the sequel. In the first instance, the dwarf individuals exemplified by the Lenggong representative with an (estimated) stature of 5 ft. 2 inches demand scrutiny.

Stature, head-form, slenderness of limbs, and massive jaws with relatively large teeth are the criteria by which these natives stand to be judged. Skin—or eye-colour, the colour and texture of the hair are naturally and necessarily unknown quantities. In regard then to the known data, the comparison first to be made will naturally introduce the dwarf tribes of the region. Among these, the Semang (and consequently their allies the Andamanese) despite the close concordance in size as denoted by limb-bones (Pl. XIII (a)) and the hip-bone (Pl. XIII (b)), and the Negritos of the Philippine Islands can be rejected at once in view of the contrast in head-form represented by that of the cephalic index. For the present individuals are evidently and indeed markedly dolichocephalic, while the Semang are brachycephalic.

But when the Semang have thus been eliminated, there remain for comparison only those individuals who possess elongated heads. It does not however appear that any tribe or other racial unit of the kind is distinctively dolichocephalic, though some writers have recorded a tendency in that direction, and others have actually published references to long-headed individuals, of which the skull No. 6, described and figured by Nelson Annandale in the *Fasciculi Malayenses*, Anthropology Part I, April 1903, p. 155 and Plate XVIII, is an example.

The remains from Gunong Sennyum, Lenggong, Gunong Pondok and Bukit Chuping testify, accordingly, to the presence in those caves of individuals with skulls of proportions similar to those presented sporadically by small-sized aborigines of the Malay Peninsula, in other districts.

But not all the remains from those caves are of such small dimensions. For instance, the large teeth in one jaw at least seem conformable to some of the large limb-bones and tarsal bones, and the male skull (No. 1) from Bukit Chuping comes into a similar association. These taller individuals cannot be reckoned as normal jungle tribesmen, and in fact their real affinities must remain uncertain.

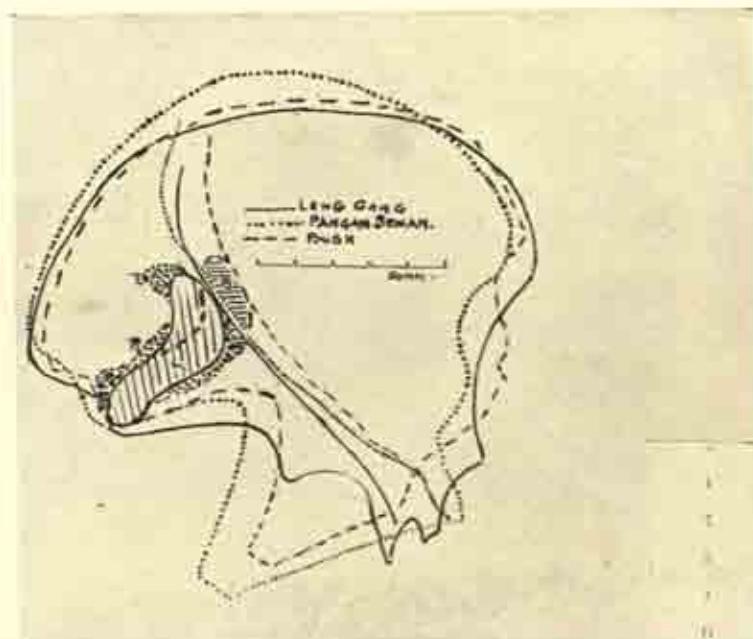
Even in the absence of such a means of arriving at a decision, I have been led to the conclusion that large and small individuals collectively are comparable to those known as Dravidians, and that the actual examples thus brought into juxtaposition with these Perak cave men include not only the relatively small long-headed jungle tribesmen, but the rather taller Veddas.

Additionally to these, the Palaiyan natives of Southern India, the Tamils observed by Professor Harrower at Singapore, and (to me quite unexpectedly) the Nicobarese whose remains fill the ossuaries at Laputi can be brought into the account. The Wadjak crania and even those of certain aborigines of Australia are by no means beyond the reach of comparison.

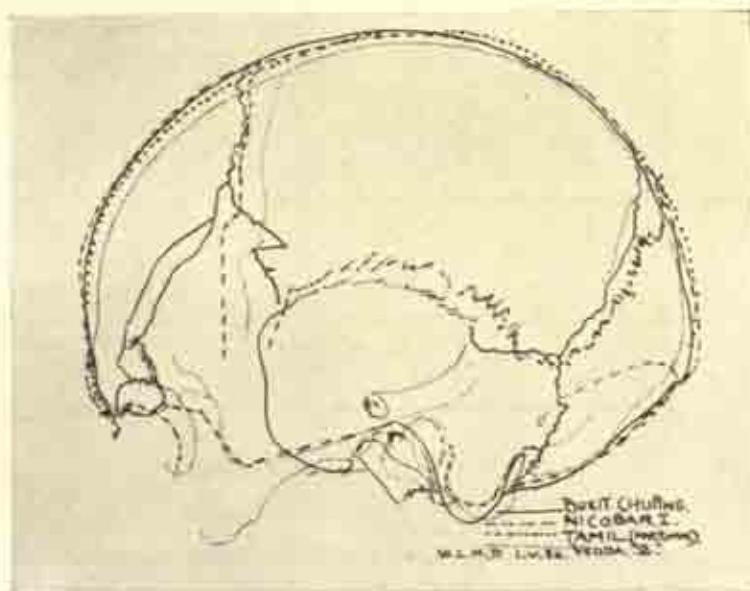
In support of this conclusion I have in the first instance to cite the evidence of the tracings presented in Pls. XIV (b), XV (a), (b), XVI (a). Herein similarity not only in absolute dimensions but in proportions will be observed to bring into line the Bukit Chuping skull No. 1 and those of a Veda, a Nicobarese, and the (average) Tamil skull (as described by Professor Harrower). Pl. XIX (a) & (b) bring a Palaiyan skull into the list.

Secondly I would appeal to the evident similarity in respect of slenderness of the limb bones as shown in a comparison of femora (Pl. XVI (b)). Herein the taller (No. 4 Box from Gunong Pondok) and the shorter (Lenggong) individuals from the Perak caves fall quite naturally within the limits of a graduated sequence including Australian aborigines as well as Nicobarese.

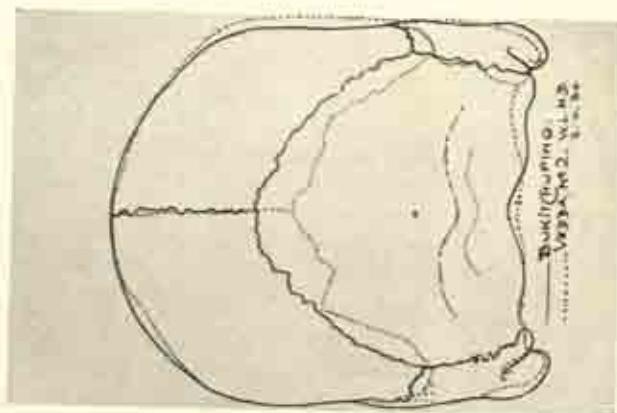
More particularly in regard to the Wadjak skulls, while I find that Wadjak No. i. is a much larger specimen than those I am able to compare with it from Perak, nevertheless I can submit tracings (Pl. XVII (a)) which shew that Wadjak No. ii. has upper and lower jaws very closely comparable with those of the Gunong Pondok example from No. 7 Box. And lastly with reference to the aborigines of Australia I find the evidence of the femora mentioned above is confirmed and supplemented by the resemblance



a.



b.



(Pl. XVII (b)) between the mandible from Bukit Chuping and that of the Australian aboriginal skull designated No. 2105 in the Cambridge collection.

Thus these cave-dwellers of Perak, whether tall or short, seem to fall naturally and definitely within the confines of a group of humanity spread over a large area of south-eastern Asia and traceable even into Australia. Variants within this group agree in the possession (common to all) of a very distinctly dolichocephalic cranium, large jaws with large teeth, and limb bones of remarkable slenderness. This slender type has probably several sub-divisions and its geographical range may extend far westwards, perhaps as far as Egypt.

The type so described I believe to be identical with that designated Dravidian by some writers, and Pre-dravidian by Giuffrida Ruggeri and by Thurston (cf. G. Ruggeri and H. Chakladar, "First outlines of a systematic Anthropology of Asia," Calcutta 1921). Although some of its representatives are small and inconspicuous in physique, while their culture is elementary and their lives are spent in conditions scarcely distinguishable from those of the higher animals, nevertheless all are typically and essentially human.

That the Nicobarese should be associated with any elements resembling the Malayan jungle-tribes or Dravidians came to me as a matter of surprise. Even so competent an observer as Lt.-Col. Sewell does not (so far as I am aware) suggest any such affinity. But the evidence of the Nicobarese skeletons was too definite to be ignored. And even before the arrival of the consignments from Perak I had noticed the suggestions of resemblance to certain skulls from Australia and New Guinea provided by Nicobarese examples. It is a matter of satisfaction to discover that an approximation has been suggested on other grounds viz: those in which linguistic factors play a part.

I find few or no signs of disease in the bones submitted to me. In particular the teeth are with one exception (Bukit Chuping I.) remarkably free from caries, though their extreme attrition in some specimens is very remarkable. The possibility that the attrition is artificial and that its practice has been borrowed from the Malay tribes has been referred to. I have also suggested that some of the Perak Malays may represent a sub-division of the human stock described above as Dravidian or Pre-dravidian. But naturally I cannot go further than this in view of the material at my disposal.

II. DESCRIPTIONS AND COMMENTS.

Introductory Notes.

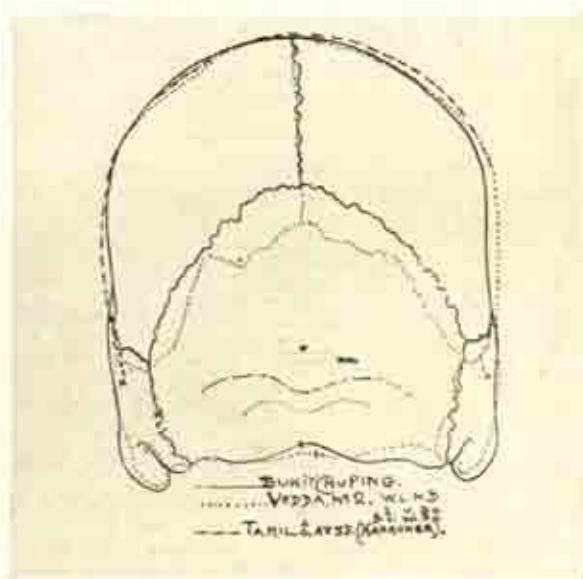
The fragmentary remains of human skeletons from the Malay Peninsula submitted to me for examination by Mr. Ivor Evans fall into two divisions of which a description will now be given.

- A. Skeletal fragments from caves or rock-shelters in Perak, among which remnants there are to be distinguished.
- (a) The single calvaria from the cave Gua To Long in Gunong Sennyum.
Mr. Evans mentions fragments of facial bones, but these he has not forwarded.
 - (b) A single skeleton in fragmentary condition, collected at Lenggong, in the cave Gua Kajang.
 - (c) Fragments collected by Mr. Gordon in the cave Gua Kerbau in Gunong Pondok.
 - (d) Fragments collected after Mr. Gordon's visit and on the same site viz: the cave Gua Kerbau in Gunong Pondok.
This group of fragments came embedded in plaster of Paris, packed in slabs in six packing cases numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 and 7 without No. 5.
 - (e) Fragments collected by Mr. Ivor Evans at Bukit Chuping.
- B. A collection from an island off the coast of the F.M.S. near Kuala Selinsing. This collection comprises cranial fragments only, and nine moderately complete skulls (without mandibles) as well as fragments of four others have been received at Cambridge.

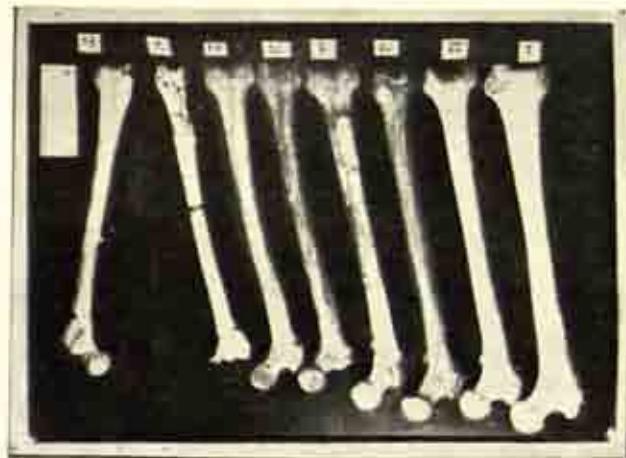
REFERENCES TO LITERATURE.

The memoirs cited under (A) & (B) contain references to the localities in which the several finds were made and to the circumstances attending the discovery and exposure of the bones. In all instances (A & B) the writers expressly disclaim all endeavours to provide critical accounts of the bones themselves.

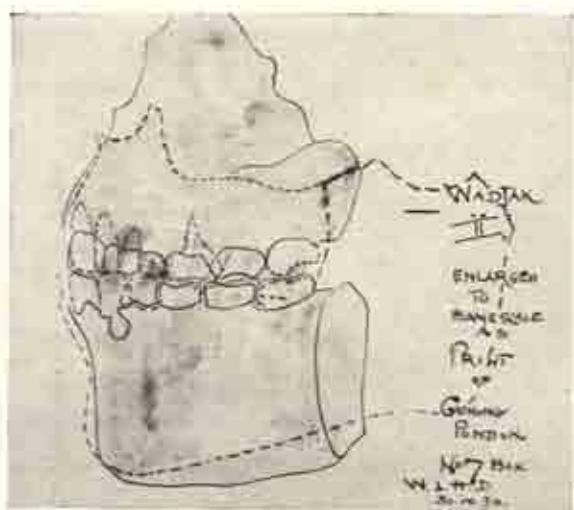
- A. (a) Sennyum. *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, Vol. IX, Part 1, January 1920, p. 42.
 (b) Lenggong. *Ib.*, Vol. VII, Part IV, June 1918, p. 230.
 (c) & (d) Gunong Pondok. *Ibidem*, Vol. XII, Part VI, XXVII and XXVIII, Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels and I. H. N. Evans.
 (e) MS. letter from Mr. I. Evans, 27 September, 1929, and (generally), the work by Mr. Ivor Evans entitled "Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula," Cambridge University Press, 1929.
- B. Kuala Selinsing district. *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, Vol. XII, Part V, June 1928, pp. 121 & 141.



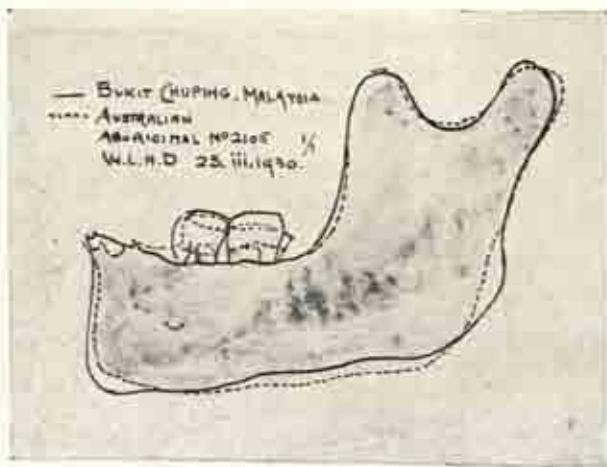
a.



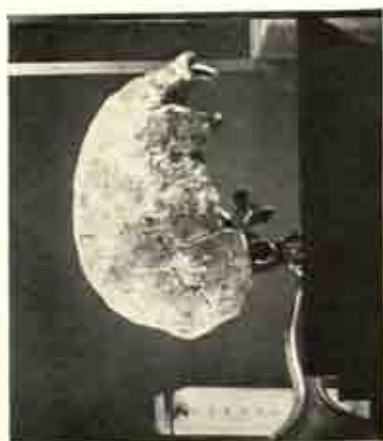
b.



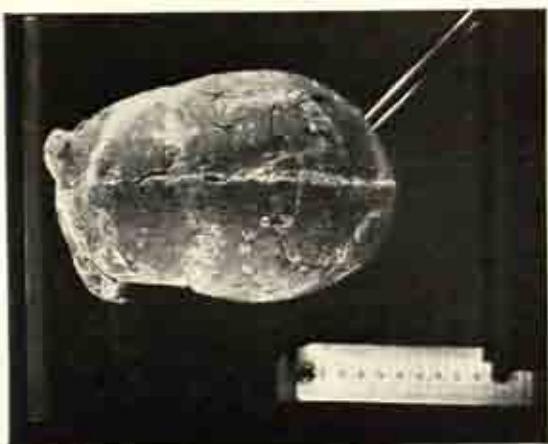
a.



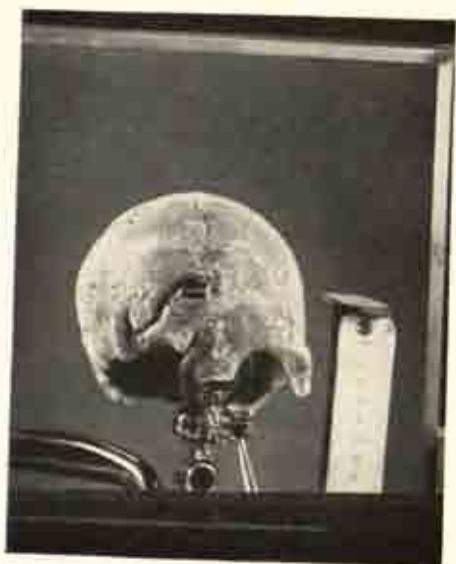
b.



b.



a.



- C. Of general interest in connection with the subject of this report
 - (f) *Ibidem*, Vol. VI, Part II, September 1915, p. 71, C. Boden Kloss. "Measurements of some Sakal."
 - (g) Australian aborigines: the Keith Sheridan publication of the University of Adelaide entitled "Dentition and Palate of the Australian Aboriginal" 1925 by Dr. T. D. Campbell is quite indispensable for reference in any investigation resembling the present one.
 - (h) Nicobarese: Presidential Address to the Section of Anthropology. Sixteenth Indian Science Congress Madras 1929 by Lieut.-Col. R. B. Seymour, I.M.S.
 - (i) Mitra. Prehistoric India. Calcutta 1927.
 - (j) Schebesta (i) *Anthropos* Band XXI, 1926.
 (ii) Among the Forest Dwaris of Malaya.
 - (k) Other works dealing with the natives of the Malay Peninsula by various writers. See references in "Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula" by Skeat and Blagden. Also *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* *passim*.
 - (l) Gordon Harrower: "A study of the Hokien and the Tamil skull," Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Vol. LIV, Part 3, No. 13, 1926.

DETAILED ACCOUNTS OF THE SPECIMENS.

Detailed accounts of the various specimens now follow, the remains from Sennyum being first described, next those from Lenggong and the other sites in succession.

Gunong Sennyum.

The human calvaria from this locality is distinguished by its very small size (though fully mature) and by its very exaggerated dolichocephalic proportions. The breadth index is no more than 61, the maximum calvarial width does not exceed 117 mm. and the height of the cranium probably did not differ appreciably from the width. Posthumous distortion is manifest, and is almost certainly due to pressure exercised on the skull as it lay in a soft matrix containing harder blocks or masses of stone. Such uneven pressure has caused some bending of the long axis but has not very much affected the proportions of the calvaria. The sex is probably female, though this pronouncement is given with some reserve as is fitting in the existing uncertainty of the physical features of the tribe to which it belongs.

Photographs have been made of this calvaria in several "normae," and *tracings* of the principal contours have been drawn with the aid of a dioptograph. Such tracings facilitate comparisons

with other specimens, and in this instance mention is due of particular comparisons as follows:—Pls. XVIII (a), (b), (c); XIX (a), (b).

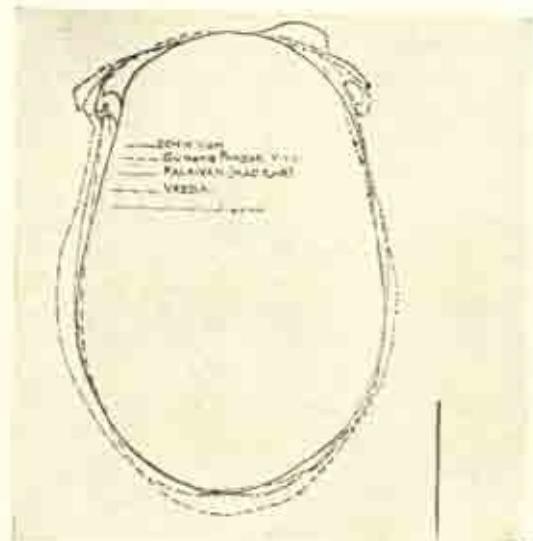
The few measurements practicable on this specimen will be found in the table on sheet 16. Their study confirms the account given above.

Lenggong.

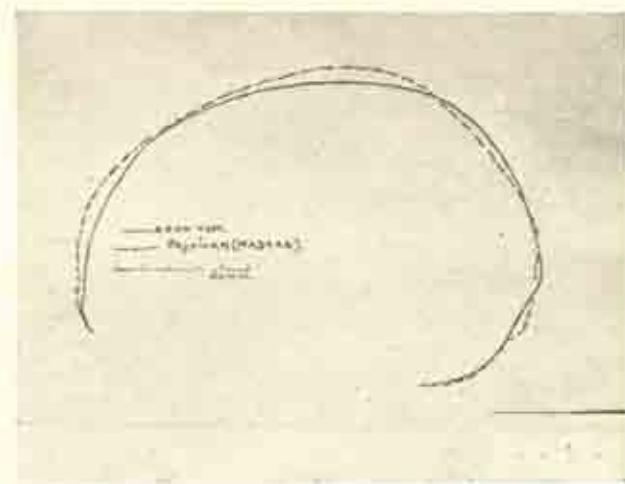
The fragmentary remains from this locality indicate an individual of diminutive (about 5 ft. 1) though not absolutely pygmy stature. The skull is especially incomplete though parts of both the upper and lower jaw have been preserved. All the fragments are bleached, at least their colour is characteristically white, they are encrusted in places with a calcareous deposit, their cavities have been infiltrated by similar material. This deposit has also acted like a cement and with its aid some of the bones though fractured have preserved continuity although the re-united and splintered fragments are not necessarily in correct alignment or adjustment. The individual is judged to have been of the female sex, though this pronouncement is given with reserve. The remaining fragment of hip-bone does not provide conclusive information. This fragment does however throw some light on the individual's age, for the epiphysis of the crest is seen to have but recently become consolidated with the main mass of the bone, which consolidation commonly occurs at about the 20th year or the attainment of maturity in the European youth.

The jaws are massive and the hard palate is relatively of large size. In the upper jaw the lower nasal margins are indistinct and to this extent the skull exhibits lowly features. The teeth are large and strong. They are set in a large palate and their disposition is found to resemble closely that of the average aboriginal native of Australia as described by Dr. Campbell—cf. ref. to literature (g) above and Pls. XX (a), (b); XXI (a), (b); XXII (a). The incisor teeth seem abnormally worn, a feature which will be met with again and in a later place is commented upon in this report. These incisor teeth bite "edge to edge," as in many examples among Australian aborigines.

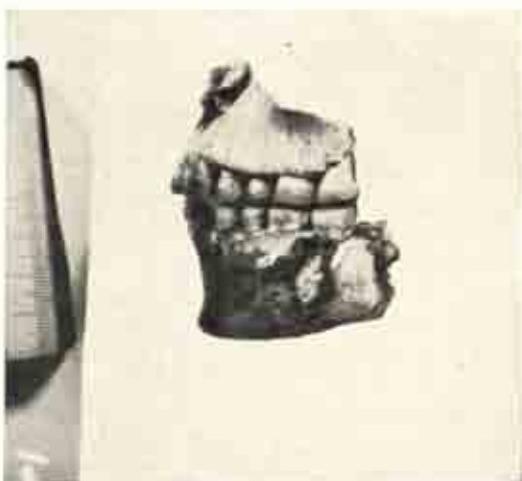
The mandibular fragment is nearly complete. The body of the bone is relatively strong and thick, the chin not prominent, being in this respect quite similar to those of aboriginal natives of New Caledonia or Australia. The mental foramen is beneath the second premolar tooth. A well-marked mylohyoid ridge is found on the left side, the bone having been weathered in the corresponding situation on the right side. The bone has suffered weathering near the digastric impressions also, but they still appear to have been quite distinct. Genial tubercles are represented by a single vertical ridge. The maximum "intergontal" width of



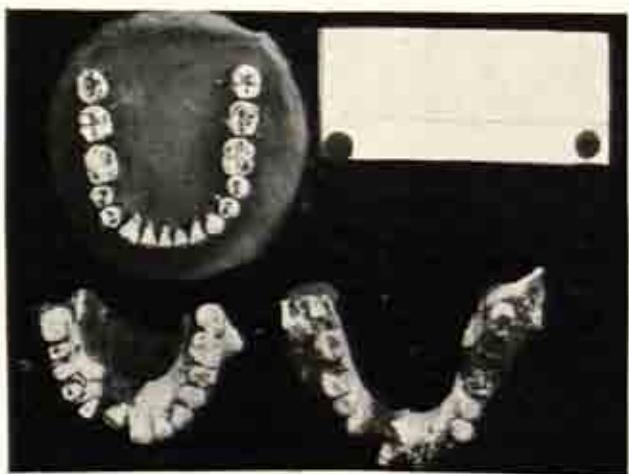
a.



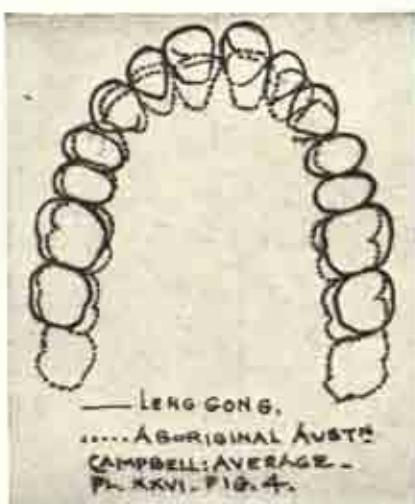
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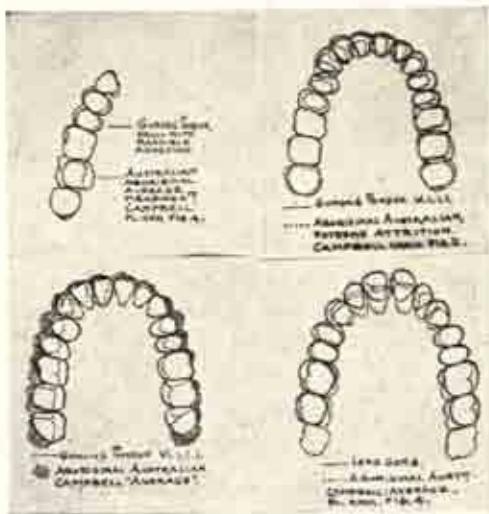
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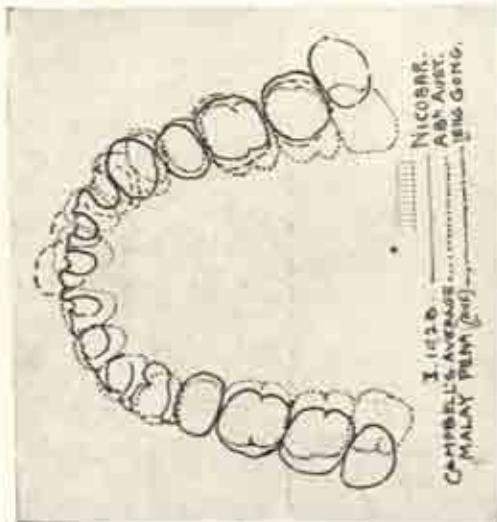
a.



b.



b.



NICOBAR.
Ab. Amt.
Bing Gong.
T. 1920
Centrale's Average
MELAYU PENINSULAE

a.

this mandible is 102 mm., and the antero-posterior length (in the middle line) from the front surface of the chin to the line joining the right to the left angle, is 70 mm.

The fragment of hip-bone is small and in this respect resembles those represented with it in Pls. XIV (*a*) and XXII (*b*), viz: examples of a Pangan Semang (from the Federated Malay States) and a South African Bushman. The Lenggong fragment (Pl. XXIII (*a*)) measures 140 mm. from front to back (between the anterior and the posterior superior spines) and 125.5 mm. in maximum height. The sacrum (Pl. XXIII (*b*)) is remarkably straight, but this straightness is said to be much more common in south-eastern Asiatic natives than in Europeans, so that its evidence is not necessarily significant of the special lowliness (for straightness *i.e.* lack of curvature is certainly lowlier than curvature in a sacrum) of the Perak cave-dweller from Lenggong. Other skeletal fragments impress by reason of their slenderness and delicacy. In these peculiarities the femur and humerus (cf. Pl. XXIV (*a*)) are especially noteworthy and herein they resemble very closely the corresponding bones of a Nicobarese islander in the Cambridge Collection (cf. Pl. XXIV (*b*), XXV (*a*)). The resemblance extends even to details (cf. Pl. XXV (*b*)) of the dimensions and the shape of the parts adjacent to the great trochanter of the femur.

Fragments from Gunong Pondok.

These fragments came in two consignments. The first comprised those collected by Mr. Gordon and were all derived from skulls. They have been adjusted and re-assembled so far as possible and parts of two crania are thus available. Sundry fragments of upper and lower jaws are also present, but these cannot be assigned with certainty to the calvariae which has none of these parts attached.

The second consignment came in packing cases. These contained large slabs of plaster of Paris in which the remnants strewn on the surface exposed by excavation were at one period brought to light. The time and trouble spent on this treatment with plaster of Paris have been largely profitless for earlier excavators and wild animals had already caused the extensive breaking up of the skeletons and their dispersion in inextricable confusion (Pl. XXVI (*a*)).

In view of the confusion thus made evident, it seems best to group the descriptions according to the parts of the skeletons represented and the accounts of the femora and the calvariae will be followed by those of the maxillary the mandibular and the other parts in order.

Gunong Pondok.

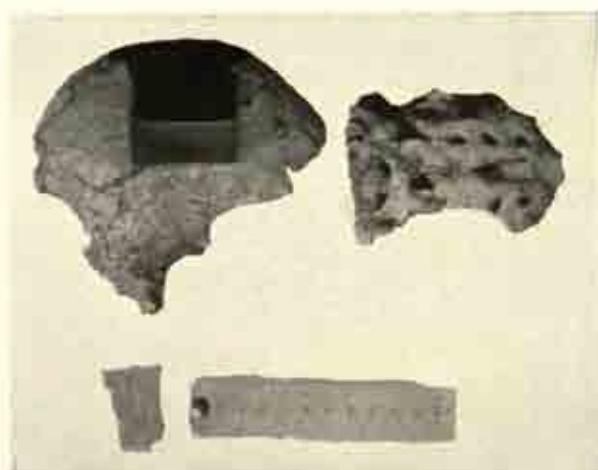
The first consignment of specimens included no limb-bones or parts of the skeleton other than cranial fragments. Among the

contents of the boxes in the second consignment, fragmentary femora or other bones indicate individuals of pygmy stature, or again, of stature resembling that of the average male European. Some of these taller individuals were possessed however of remarkably slender bones. Taking the boxes in order, it is to be remarked that No. 1 Box has yielded only skull fragments, teeth (Pls. XX (b), XXVI (b)), broken portions of ribs and vertebrae with part of an ulna. No. 2 Box had no cranial fragments save a few teeth (some apparently of the first dentition). Its contents include parts of the skeleton of an immature individual, whose age nevertheless exceeded ten years as is shown by the ossification in the epiphysis of the os calcis. A patella (Pl. XXVII (a)) cuneiform tarsal bones, and astragali (Pl. XXVII (b)) of uniformly diminutive size are noteworthy among the various contents of this Box (2).

No. 3 Box contained burnt bones, including some referable to other mammalia than man. Gasteropod molluscs were also abundant. The human bone fragments had been hopelessly broken up before they were removed from the matrix surrounding them in the cave-floor. An imperfect femur and a mandibular fragment, (Pl. XXVII (c)) both of diminutive size testify to the former existence of an individual of small stature. This individual moreover seems to have reached maturity. A small entocuneiform bone and fragmentary metatarsal bones are referable to the same individual. Against this come the head with part of the neck of a radius of a distinctly larger skeleton. Before passing to the next set of fragments, special mention is due to the occurrence among the contents of No. 3 Box of a very small imperfect humerus which may be that of a monkey (not an Orang utan however).

No. 4 Box provided parts of two femora from the same skeleton and these have been almost completely restored. Their length and relative slenderness are very remarkable and to illustrate these details, they were placed in series with several comparable examples and then photographed. The illustration (Pl. XVI (b)) shows the principal results of that comparison, and more particularly it brings the femur from No. 4 Box into contrast with the Lenggong femur described in a preceding paragraph of this report. The No. 4 Box femora with an oblique length of 467.5 mm. would denote an individual of nearly 5 ft. 7 ins. in stature. Most of the remaining contents seem to have been associated in one human skeleton. Skull fragments are remarkable by reason of their absence. Only one tooth was found. Two charred fragments seem to be referable to limb-bones of a small ungulate mammal.

No. 6 Box contained fragments of femora which point to slender and yet not very short bones. (They are suitable enough to the calvaria reconstructed from many pieces found in this box). The astragali are conformable. No. 7 Box included remains of a diminutive individual together with those of a robust and evidently



a.



b.



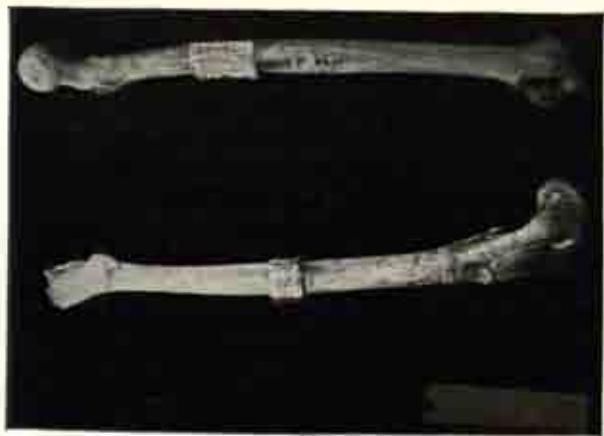
b.



a.



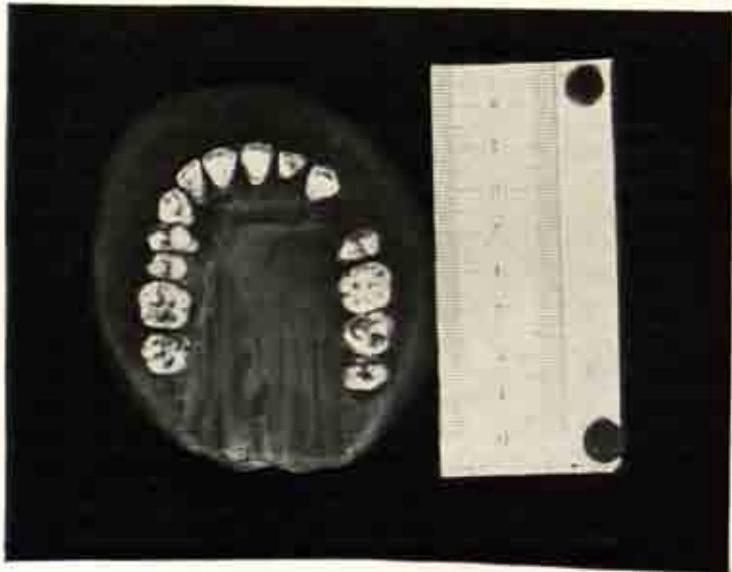
b.



a.



a.



b.

taller one. Whether the former had reached maturity or no, is not ascertainable. The evidence of the femora is supplemented by that of a very small but undoubtedly human patella. Among the charred fragments in No. 7 Box are parts of the lower end of a tibia, and of a (fifth) metatarsal bone. Before leaving the skeletal parts other than those of the skull, mention may be made once more of the estimate of stature based upon the femora in No. 4 Box. These provide indications of a stature of nearly 5 ft. 7 ins., with which the stature of 5 ft. 2 ins. assigned to the individual from Lenggong may be contrasted. These data are further compared in the form of a table which is appended.

Stature	Individual	Ref. to Illustration Pl. XVI (b)
Between 5ft. 11ins. & 6ft.	Burwell Saxon B77.	No. 1.
Just below 5ft. 11ins.	Australian aboriginal No. 615.	No. 3.
Just below 5ft. 10ins.	Kroo Negro.	No. 2.
Approx:	5ft. 7ins. Gunong Pondok No. 4 Box.	No. 4.
	5ft. 5ins. Australian aboriginal No. 4.	No. 5.
	5ft. 2ins. Lenggong.	No. 7.
	5ft. 2ins. Nicobarese.	No. 8.

The skull-fragments are very numerous, but their adjustment so as to restore the original skull has proved lamentably limited in extent. Parts of four calvariae have thus been reconstructed, and of these two derive from the first consignment and two from the second consignment of bones. The remnants include imperfect mandibles and parts of the upper jaw: to a small extent some adaptation of the two jaws has been made. There remain further some fragmentary jaws not capable of such adaptation together with numerous parts derived from the cranial vault, such for instance as the fragments of frontal bone.

The calvaria which is most nearly complete has been built up from fragments sent with the first consignment. It forms part of the material discovered and collected by Mr. Gordon, and it bears in white pigment the distinctive ciphers V.I.I. (see Pls. XXVIII, XXIX). As the illustrations show this is a small calvaria of extremely dolichocephalic proportions (wherein it resembles the calvaria from Sennuyum) and it may well be female, though doubt is here expressed as in regard to the preceding examples. The brow-ridges are more definitely prominent than usual in an European specimen of correspondingly small size.

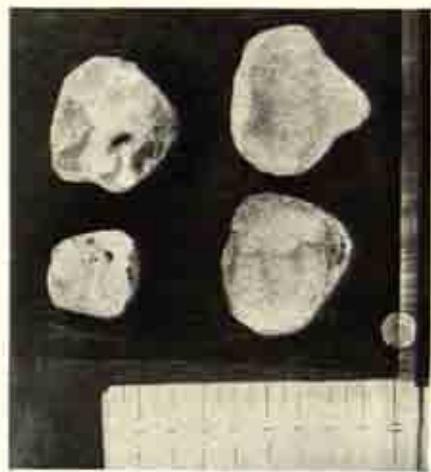
The other specimen (VI. 1.) reconstructed from parts found with the first consignment, is little more than the parietal and occipital segments of one side (the right). The profile view (*Norma lateralis*, of Fig. 37) reveals a distinctive curvature of the parietal bone. The curvature points to proportions of the cranium differing slightly from those of the specimens already described. The

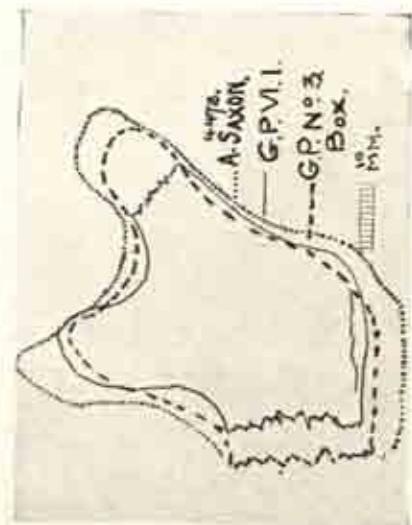
difference consists in the less defined extreme degree of dolichocephaly in the present example. Unfortunately, the calvaria is so imperfect that no measurement capable of proving this conclusion can be made. By a curious chance the right mandibular condyle of this specimen (VI. I.) remains *in situ*, being held there by a calcareous deposit. The condyle has been broken away, but the mandibular fragment fits on to the neck of the condyle so that an adjustment of the two pieces can be made, as is shown in Pls. XXX, XXXI (*a*). The adjustment adds but little to the information conveyed by the various parts themselves. It does however decide the attribution of one particular mandible to a calvaria. The first calvaria described may accordingly be associated with either the maxilla V. or VI. III. (And with maxilla V. the mandible VI. I. may be associated; see below, p. 159).

Of the two calvariae from the second consignment, one (from No. 1 Box) is that which on arrival displayed a mandible embedded in its interior (cf. Pl. XXVI (*a*)). It is almost certainly male, and its maximum glabello-occipital length (183 mm.) was measured while it was still *in situ*. Upon removal the fragments into which it fell were so numerous as to defy more than a partial reconstruction. Its maximum (biparietal) width (Pls. XXXI (*b*), XXXII (*a*)) is conjectural, but not far from 133 mm. giving (with the length measurement) a cephalic index of just over 72. This testifies to pronounced dolichocephalic proportions. The brow-ridges are more marked than in the other examples previously described.

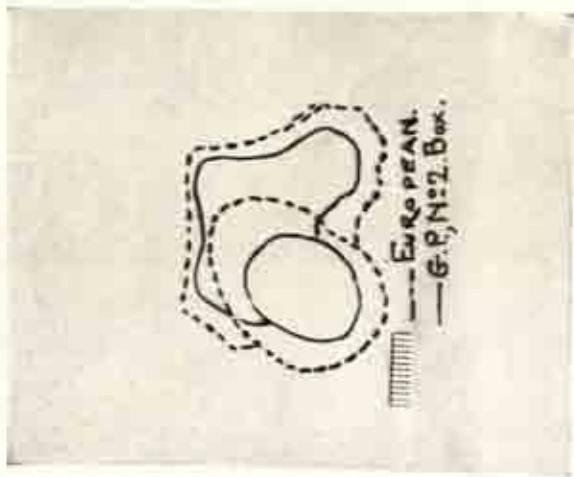
No. 6 Box provided the last of the four calvariae, this imperfect specimen (Pl. XXXII (*b*)) having been built up from very numerous fragments. It points to a small very elongated skull, with no very distinct ridges or protuberances, and the sex is almost certainly female. The absence of most of the occipital region leaves the length of this specimen a matter of conjecture, but it was about 175 mm. While the estimate of width is correspondingly conjectured on account of the defect of the right half of the calvaria, this dimension was probably not far from 126 mm. These figures assign 72.0 as the cephalic index and measure of the proportions of the two diameters.

Following on the more complete calvariae, the remnants of the cranial vault may next be reviewed. In this connection, the contents of the various boxes provide very little material, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 containing little that is recognizable, and since Nos. 1 and 6 have been considered (see the notes on Calvariae above) there remains only No. 7 Box. This however has yielded two fragments of the left orbital margin and brow-ridge. Frontal air-sinuses were well developed, yet the brow-ridge was not so prominent as might have been expected. A supra-orbital "torus" is present, but it does not extend fully halfway across the orbital border. Beyond it and as far as the external angular process,

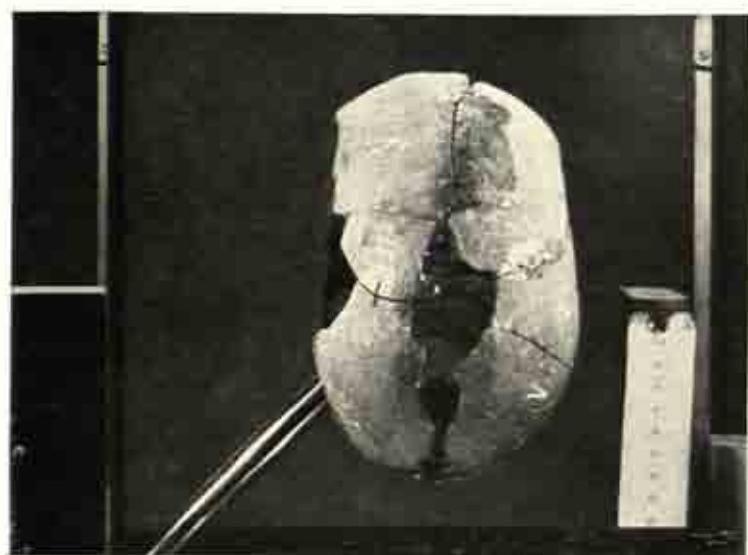




c.



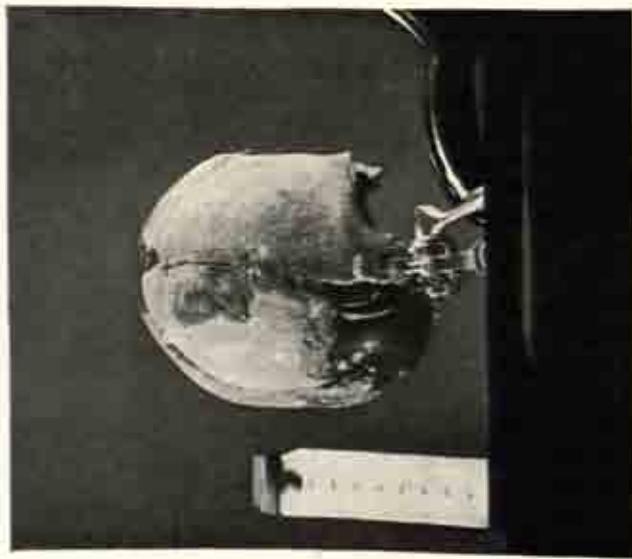
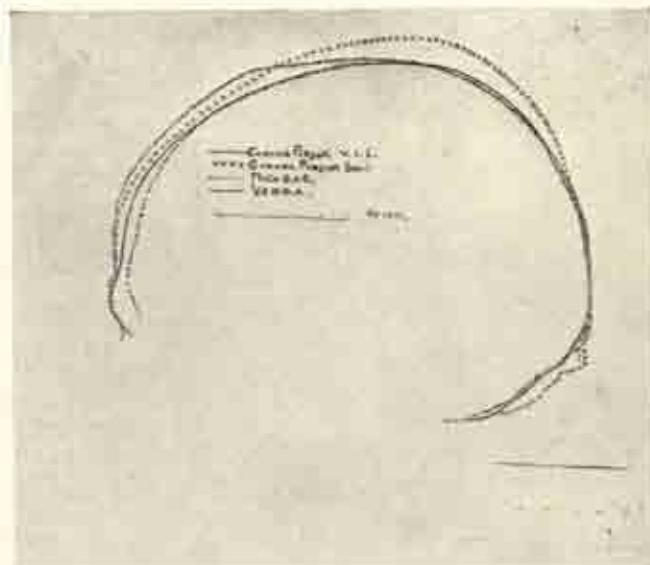
d.



a.



b.



the "trigonum planum" is found. There are quite normal features and in the present specimen show no notable deviations from the normal conditions even in European crania.

The few measurements that have been made will be found tabulated in the statement appended to this descriptive account.

Sex Specimen.	Maximum Glabella- occipital length	Maximum Bi-parietal width.	Cephalic Index	Estimated Basal bregmatic height	Horizontal Circumference	Sagittal Arcs
Sennnym	173	117	61	? 117	470	Frontal 120 Pa. tal 120 Occ. Sup 49 Occ. Inf 55 Occ. Inf
						335
Gunong Pondok V.I.I.	181	113	62.4	? 130	485	Frontal 125 Pa. tal 140 Occ. Sup 60 Occ. Inf 50 Occ. Inf
						375
Gunong Pondok No. 1 Box.	184	133	72.3	? 136		
Gunong Pondok No. 6 Box.	175	126	72.0	?		
Gunong Pondok VI.I.	?	140	?	?		
Bukit Chuping I.	175	128	73.1	?		
Bukit Chuping II.	?	? 130	—	? 135		
These are added for comparison:—						
Nicobar No. 1 —	178	124	70.0	—		
Nicobar No. 3 —	175	119	68.0	—		
Palaiyan (Mus.) Anat. Cant.)	171	119	70.0	—		
No. 5337.						
Vedda No. 2 —	173	127	73.4	—		
Aditannallar (c) —	183	124	67.8	—		
" (d) —	180	129	67.8	—		
" (e) —	180	128	71.1	—		

HARD PALATE.

	Length	Width outside 2nd Molars	Width inside 2nd Molars
Gunong Pondok V. (D) (with mandible VI. I. (A))	56	56	34
Gunong Pondok VIII	58	57	35

Mem. The length was measured from the Prosthion in front to a line joining the posterior aspects of the tubera maxillaria. The width measurements are external and internal respectively to the alveolar border opposite the tooth mentioned viz: the second molar.

Upper and Lower Jaws.

The several fragments of upper and lower jaws allowed of a certain amount of adaptation with the following results. Specimen V. with mandibular fragment VI. I. as D + A (Pl. XXXIII (a)) Specimen VI. I. with mandibular fragment VIII as E (Pl. XXXIII (b)) Specimens B and C (both upper jaw fragments) remain completely isolated. (Pls. XXXIII (b), XXXIV (a)).

No. 1 Box: provided a fragment of the left half of the upper jaw and part of the ascending rami of the left side of a mandible. Additionally to these fragments nearly the whole of a complete set of upper and lower teeth was recovered and the teeth have been arranged and mounted in plasticine (Pls. XX (b), XXVI (b)).

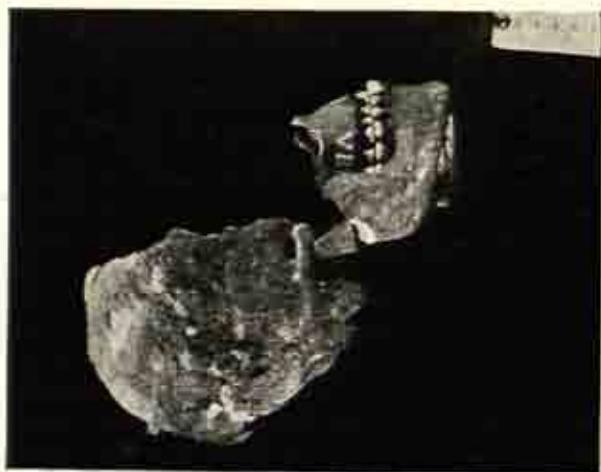
No. 3 Box: part of the left half of a male mandible. (XXVII (c)).

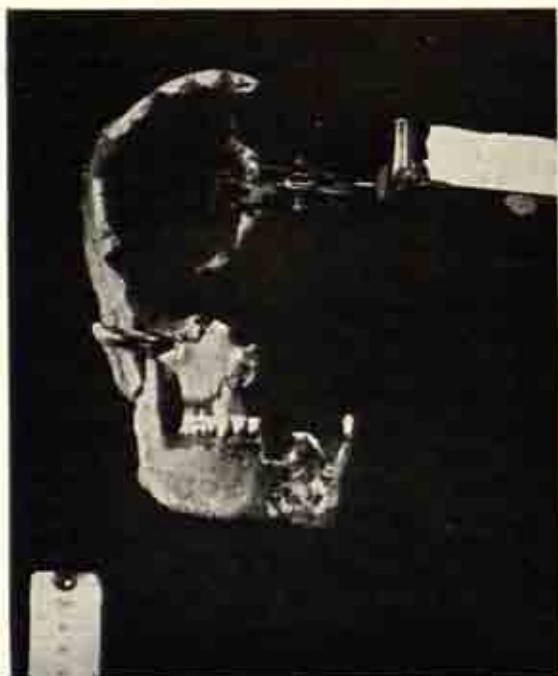
No. 6 Box: part of the symphyseal region of a mandible provided with a distinct mental process (chin).

No. 7 Box: 2 left halves of the upper maxilla clinch the evidence for two distinct skeletons. One of these specimens can be associated with a large mandibular fragment.

The remarkably worn surface of the teeth in the fore part of the upper jaws is a most striking feature of these specimens. The whole of the dental arcade is affected as far back as the first molar tooth and of this the front part of the crown shares in the general attrition. The incisors have suffered so much more than the other teeth that there is good ground for attributing the condition to artificial interference, quite independent of the quality of the food or its texture. Moreover, the artificial filing down of the front teeth is a well-known practice in the south-east of Asia, so that nothing more need be added here on this subject.*

* Koganei. Mitt. der Med. Fak. der Kais. Universität in Tokyo 1922 Band XXVIII Heft 3. Kunstliche Deformation des Gebisses bei den Steinmenschen Japans—with important literary references.





Apart from this, the upper jaw in several instances exhibits prenasal grooves and a "primitive" or lowly condition of the lower nasal margins.

The hard palate shares in these primitive characters in that it is wide and "elliptical," the width being especially remarkable at the level of the premolar teeth, and the contrast with the more usual conformation of the European palate being emphasized in this particular detail. The correspondence in size and proportions of the cave examples with those of Nicobarese and even aboriginal natives of Australia is illustrated by tracings (Pls. XXI, XXII (a)) and will be referred to again in the sequel. The large size of the molar teeth appears in these tracings, but it is important to notice that one of the Gunong Pondok upper jaw fragments (Pl. XXXIII (b)c) carries a first molar tooth of quite unusual size (as judged by the dimensions of the crown) while the assemblage of scattered teeth from No. 1 Box includes lower molars (the first on each side) which are also remarkable in this respect. The large teeth to which reference has been made provide numerical data as follows in regard to the dimensions of their crowns:

Gunong Pondok VI. I. (new "C") Right first upper molar crown

	Transverse diameter	Antero-posterior diameter
	13.4	12.9

Gunong Pondok No. 1 Box.

Right first lower molar	11.4	12.4
Left first molar crown	11.4	13.0

The mandibular fragments include some which are massive especially in the symphysial region even though the chin is not prominent. The ascending rami in one specimen is very small and its relatively diminutive size is seen well in Pl. XXVII (c) in which it is compared with examples from Europe and elsewhere. In all essential details the mandibles appear to conform to a type known to be frequent in the skeletons of individuals living in primitive surroundings and conditions.

BUKIT CHUPING.

A few of these fragments are difficult to identify as human and of these some seem to have been rammed through, besides being splintered, for the extraction of marrow.

Careful inspection of the fragments that are undoubtedly human, leads me to refer them to one or other of two skeletons. These will be described as Bukit Chuping No. I and Bukit Chuping No. II respectively. The former is seemingly a male individual of about 25 to 30 years of age and of a stature of about 5ft. 8ins. The latter is probably a female, and in point of age about 5 years less than the male individual.

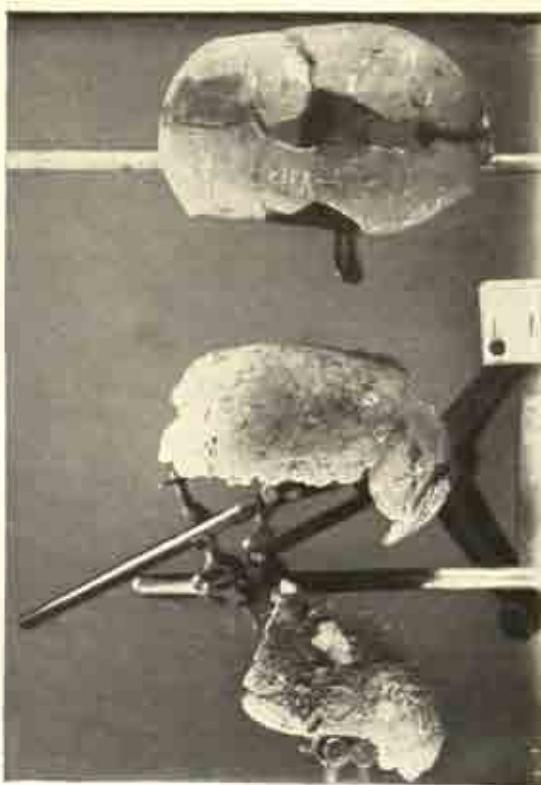
BUKIT CHUPING.

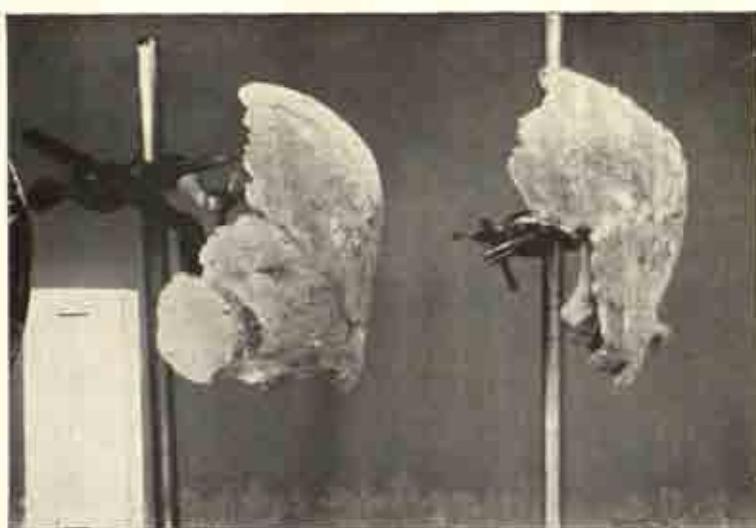
No. I. Skeleton.

The limb bones associated with the skull as parts of Skeleton No. I., are so fragmentary that with the possible exception of a metatarsal bone (this is the fifth left metatarsal and it may possibly belong to No. II Skeleton) no length measurements have been found practicable. The fragmentary femoral shafts do however allow of an estimate of their original length. In regard to this, and again in respect of their other characters, they agree fairly closely with the femora from No. 4 Box Gunong Pondok, and consequently a corresponding stature (about 1700mm. or 5ft. 7ins.) and relative slenderness of limb are claimed for Bukit Chuping No. I. The linea aspera is well developed. No distinctive features are observed in the tibial and fibular fragments, nor indeed in any of the others. In the case of metacarpal and metatarsal bones the assignation is hard to make.

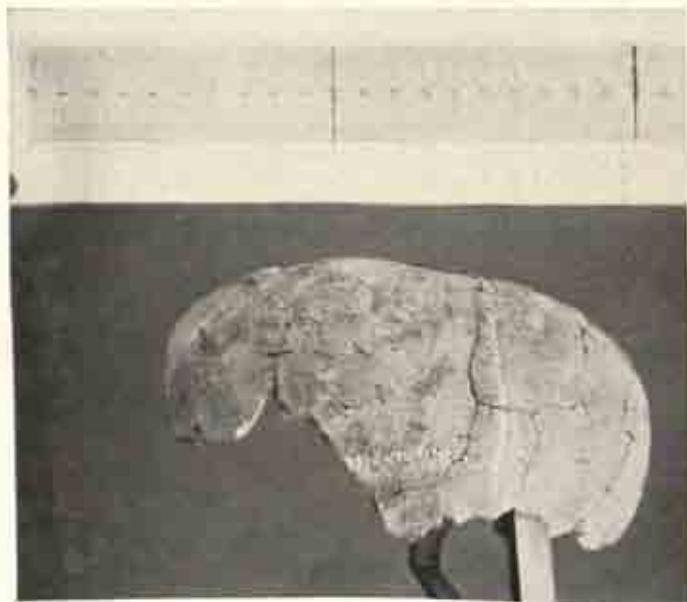
The skull of No. I has been restored to a large extent but unfortunately, essential parts of the cranial base are missing, and also the facial bone fragments do not furnish points of contact with the cranium. The adaptation of the face to the cranium is consequently impossible in this as in all the other examples in this report.

The skull (for measurements, see the table on p. 158) is of small size but thick-walled and consequently heavy. It may have absorbed a certain amount of calcareous substance post-mortem, but it has lost organic matter so that its weight has probably remained fairly constant. In its proportions, the cranial part of the skull is relatively long, relatively narrow (Pl. XXXIV (b)) and high. In the cranial sutures, obliteration was just about to commence (Pl. XXXV (a)) near the obelion, and upon the basis of this observation, the age cited above (viz: 25 to 30 years) has been assigned. No special remark falls to be made regarding the "muscular" ridges save that the local excrescence at the inion and the outline of the sagittal curve above and again below this part recalls very definitely the conformation of many skulls of Australian aborigines. The mastoid processes are of moderate size and consequently rather large when judged by an "Australoid" standard. The tympanic bone too exhibits a tendency to approach the proportions of a higher type, though its "horizontal" diameter is still relatively extensive. The brow-ridges again are but moderately prominent, though the air-sinuses are extensive. The torus near the glabella does not extend far outwards before it is replaced by a triangle. The glenoid fossae are as deep as in European skulls. Large sphenoidal spines are noteworthy. The facial skeleton was prognathous to a slight degree, though the zygomatic bones were strong and large with a notch of "Australoid" form. The proportions of the orbital and nasal apertures have





a.



b.

to be estimated without the assistance of the actual parts in contact. In regard to the nose however, there remains enough of the inferior portion the right side of the aperture to show that it was almost certainly of the wide type found among the lower races. In particular the inferior border becomes completely obliterated at some distance from the median plane. The canine fossa is shallow. Only two upper teeth (the right premolars) remain. Their crowns are very obliquely worn down and in this respect they correspond to those of the mandible. But whereas in the upper teeth, the deeper *i.e.* lingual side of the crown has suffered more, the lower crowns show more abrasion on the outer or cabial side. The alveolar walls of the right upper molar teeth (they are not present) have been widely destroyed, and as it seems by active peri-alveolar disease. It is noteworthy that on the corresponding side in the mandible, there is no third molar tooth and the alveolus is scarcely distinguishable.

The mandible associated with No. I presents a series of "moderate" features. By this expression, reference is made to details of conformation which throw certain examples (generally accounted "lowly") into strong contrast with Western Europeans which are naturally taken as the basis of a comparison and may on the whole be considered justifiably as more elevated than those just mentioned. Thus the mandible of No. I is of moderate size and robustness, the chin is moderately prominent, the ascending rami not of exceptional proportions, the sigmoid notch not unusually shallow. The mylohyoid ridge is quite distinct, the digastric impression small but perfectly well-defined. The mental foramen on the right side is below the anterior root of the first molar tooth.

The lingula does make an exception, and in this detail, namely that the lingula is feebly developed on the left side, and absent from the right side, No. I and No. II agree in the possession of an unusual conformation.

Most of the teeth have fallen out from their sockets. The incisor sockets suggest teeth of small size, and the canines must have been similar to the incisors. Of the lower premolar teeth, the sockets show but one root, and on the right side the second premolar has been retained, its crown having been abraded obliquely as above described (the abrasion being chiefly on the labial side of the crown). The remaining molar teeth are the first on the right side and the first and second on the left side of the mandible. Their crowns are abraded as described, and here it may be remarked that while such abrasion is not absolutely distinctive of jaws from any particular region, nevertheless the particular type of abrasion here exhibited is represented in the Cambridge Collection most frequently by teeth from New Zealand and the Chatham Islands in the southern hemisphere, and from British Columbia and Greenland in the northern hemisphere. In No. I the third lower

left molar has left exposed an alveolus which shows that the posterior root was very distinctly smaller than the anterior root. The more delicate fragments assigned to skeleton No. II, are less numerous than those assigned by reason of their stoutness to No. I. They comprise the shaft of one humerus, the head with the neck (Pl. XXXV (b)) separated from part of the shaft of one femur, and parts of both tibiae. The shaft fragments differ from the robuster fragments in regard to the character of their surfaces which have been eroded, though the agency which has been effective cannot be defined. As remarked in connection with the notes on No. I skeleton, the assignation of one metacarpal and metatarsal bones cannot be made with confidence. But these bones themselves, apart from their small size have not furnished any details upon which to pass comments.

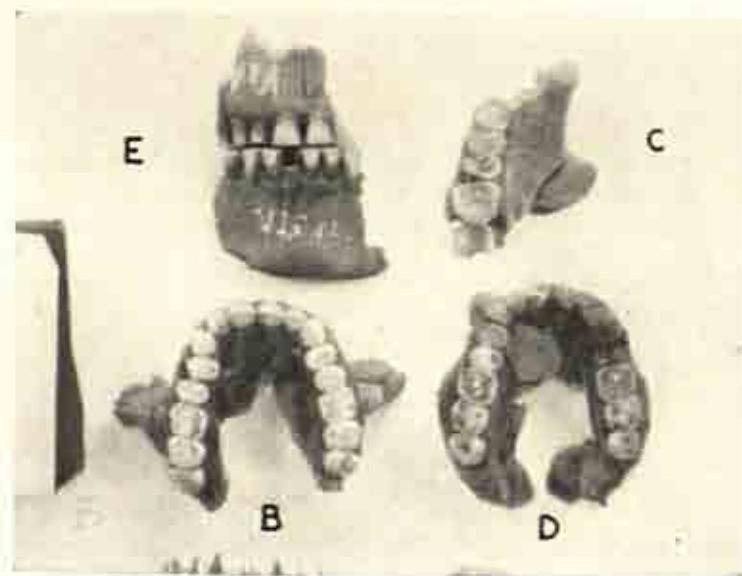
The cranial remnants of No. II skeleton are very much less perfect than those of No. I. Of the calvaria only the occipital portions remain, (Pl. XXXV (a)), and of the face only part of the lower jaw (right half) is available. The sagittal suture shows signs of imminent closure but the molar teeth (and the 12 year molar tooth has been preserved *in situ*) are so little worn, that an age of about 25 years seems the estimate most nearly in accordance with the facts observed. The calvaria has a small but definite occipital rugement, and in width did not exceed 150 mm., while its length cannot be estimated with any reliable result. Exo-cranial ridges are minimal in distinctness, and endocranially the left occipital fossa is (as in most human skulls) deeper than its fellow on the right side. The mastoid processes are so infantile in No. II skull that when its maturity (as shown by the dentition and by the condition of the sagittal suture) is taken into account, the assignation of the female sex to this individual is almost beyond question. The lower jaw is represented by the right half only. In this the mental foramen is in two subdivisions, one above the other and both are in line below the *interval* separating the second premolar from the first molar tooth. These have small crowns which are little worn and demand no special notice. The region of the chin has not been preserved. Part of a small but distinct digastric impression remains. The mylohyoid ridge is distinct. The lingula is barely distinguishable as a process.

The remains from Bukit Chuping resemble the others of this series notwithstanding the number and variety of localities represented thereby. But the Bukit Chuping specimens present an interest of quite an exceptional kind. For it seems almost certain that they represent parts of two skeletons only. Moreover they comprise larger bones which have here been placed in association with the more robust skull in contrast to the more delicate fragments here associated with the female calvaria.

If now the former skeleton No. I be subjected to scrutiny, it appears to exhibit the combination of the small narrow skull



a.



b.

made familiar already by the inspection of the remains from Sennyum and Gunong Pondok, with the longer bones from Gunong Pondok. Until the Bukit Chuping remains were investigated, the propriety of associating so small a skull with so long a femur was entirely doubtful. Bukit Chuping I shows the astounding association of a skull measuring only 175 by 128 mm. with a femur of the estimated length of 470 mm. (maximum) and a corresponding stature of 1700 mm. (A length of about 430 mm. might be expected as the maximum). Naturally one hesitates to accept so unexpected an outcome of the investigation and three suggestions present themselves to me by way of explanation. Of these suggestions an obvious one is (*a*) that the Bukit Chuping cave has yielded remains of three skeletons and not of two. In that contingency the skull of small dimensions has been wrongly attached to the same skeleton as the femur estimated to measure 470 mm. A second suggestion is that the estimates are incorrect and that the femoral length was really less than 470 mm. and consequently the stature was less than 1700. If we suppose the femoral length to have been 465 mm. the estimate of stature would find itself reduced to about 1690 mm. The third and final suggestion is that the combination of a small skull with what seems to be disproportionately long legs may actually be realized among the cave-men of the Malay Peninsula. Revising these three suggestions, I have come to the conclusion that the first (that is, that two skeletons and not three are represented), should not be accepted till the remaining two are disproved. Next, the estimate is admittedly a rough one as it must needs be with such material. The reduction by 5 mm. can easily be granted. It is moreover to be remembered that we may claim to be dealing with the very tallest examples of their population, and consequently it is probable that (like tall men elsewhere) these tallest men will have relatively longer legs, and consequently be less conformable to rules laid down for individuals near the average of their class. In its turn the ordinary table for ascertaining stature may give a less reliable result when such a case is in question. It remains consequently to enquire whether a stature of 1690 mm. is grotesquely excessive for the region and Mr. Kloss' records* at once provide the answer by their inclusion of a Senoi Sakai of Sungkai (No. 32) measuring 1698 mm. The Bukit Chuping bones can accordingly be left in the presumed association quite confidently. At the same time, it is made sufficiently obvious that the evidence obtainable from the whole of one skeleton may exceed very considerably the evidence gleaned from the same number and kind of bones collected from an unknown number of individuals. Also it may not be out of place to allude to the desirability of preserving the limb bones as well as the skull. Lastly, if the interpretation be accepted that has been here placed on the Bukit

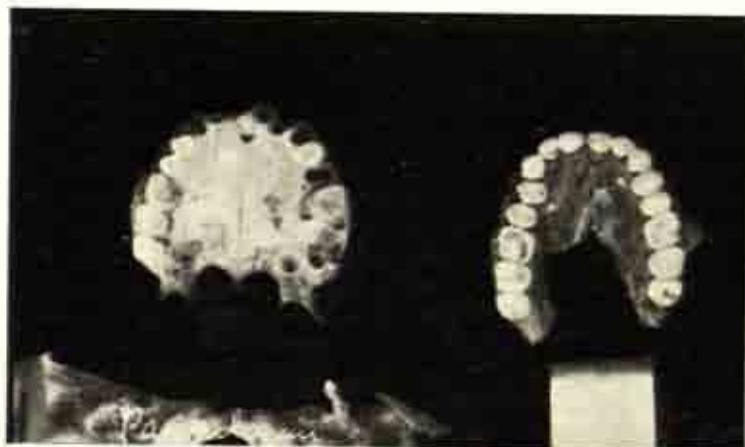
* Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums. Vol. VI, 1915, part II, September 1915, p. 79.

Chuping fragments, it seems that the Malayan caves contain remains of human beings possessing the characters of some of the jungle-tribes combined with a stature even superior to the Vedda of Ceylon and approximate to that of the aborigines of Australia.

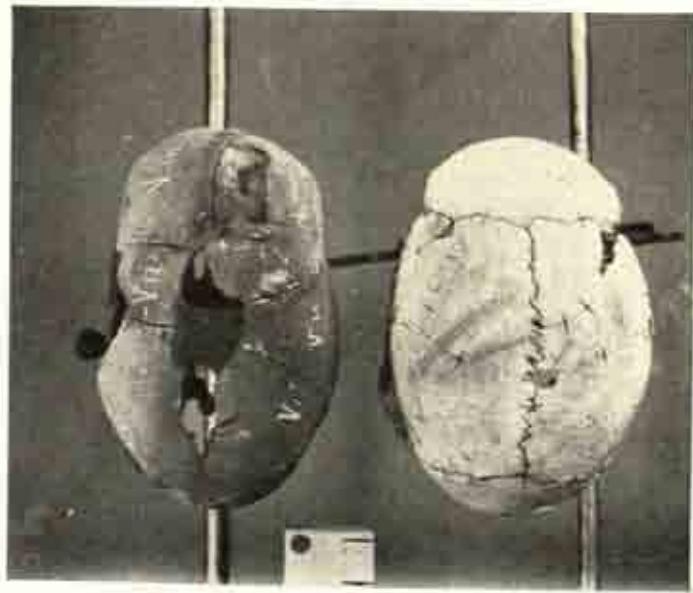
SELINSING.

The human remains from Selinsing are representative of fifteen individuals. Of these two are immature and will not be considered in this report. Of the thirteen adults, six are regarded as comparatively young, five as middle-aged, two as aged. Such a preponderance of persons in the more active phases of life is worth consideration.

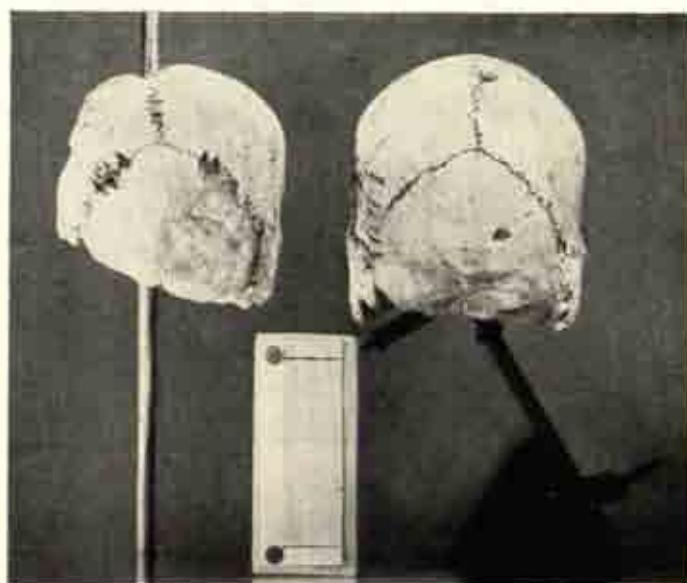
With the exception of the two juvenile specimens, these remains confirm in their appearance, the account of the conditions attending their discovery. Thus their submarine sojourn is in five instances made quite evident by the attachment of barnacles or (in one instance) of an oyster-shell. The others have (in most instances) an appearance which while it is difficult to define, accords fully with that of bones recovered from the sea elsewhere. Whether their distinct heaviness, (which brings them into contrast with so many skulls interred *in terra firma*), ought to be ascribed to these circumstances is uncertain, but the association is undoubtedly. Another noteworthy detail is that while most of the skull fragments do not show definite signs of "weathering," which in these instances would take the form of abrasion or "rolling," yet the fragmentary limb-bones sent with them present very definite examples of such exposure. These notes are thus confirmatory of the conditions already mentioned, namely the deposition of these skeletons in shallow water, and their partial exposure whereby marine animals found a resting place on some fragments, while other fragments record the abrasive influence of waves or tides. Lastly although no detailed report on the two children is made, yet in the present connexion, reference must be made to their relative freedom from "disruptive" effects, and in general their very "recent" aspect. For these features combine with the observations on the "weathering" of the older examples to enjoin caution and to curb generosity in assigning an estimate of age to the Collection as a whole. Indeed this consideration, when taken into account together with the similarity observed between the adult examples, and such other recent specimens as could reasonably be compared with them, seems to me definitely to limit the antiquity of these individuals, perhaps even to a matter of decades. In making this pronouncement, I have no desire to be dogmatic. But quite apart from such evidence as may accrue from the objects associated with these bones, I have to remember that there is no guidance in literature as to the durability of bone in such circumstances in such a climate.



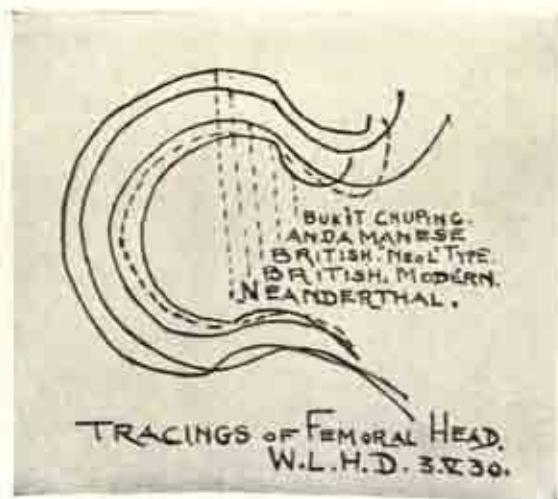
a.



b.



a.



b.

Apart from the foregoing notes, I have made certain measurements on the several specimens, and before they were repacked for dispatch to Taiping, I recorded a few anatomical peculiarities. The measurements fall within the range of comparable examples, which range is however a wide one. But their publication (like that of the miscellaneous anatomical notes) would not add anything to the essentials of this survey. In regard however to craniometry, I have noticed Mr. Evans' reference to the brachycephalic proportions of these crania. And it is perhaps worthy of mention that out of eight measurable specimens, only one is brachycephalic in the sense that its cephalic index being *over* 80, places it in the category of skulls so distinguished. One specimen provides an index of 80, and others fall not far below that figure.

THE OPENING OF THE JOHORE DEWAN, 1875.

Communicated by ENOKU 'ABDU'L-AZIZ, D.K.

On 20 September, 1875, Governor Jervois with Lady Jervois and children visited Johore and this was made the occasion for the opening of the newly completed Dewan at Johore Bahru.

There were seven bearers (*Penjawat*) carrying (1) Egg, (2) *Pebaran* (Incense burner), (3) *Tepong Tawar* (Rice flour water), (4) *Beras Basoh* (Washed rice), (5) *Berteh* (Puffed rice), (6) *Beras Kunyit* (Saffron rice) and one *Chogan Negri* (a Regalia emblem of the country).

The ceremony commenced with the breaking of the egg at the main entrance of the Dewan. *Tepong Tawar* was sprinkled and *Beras Basoh* etc. were scattered.

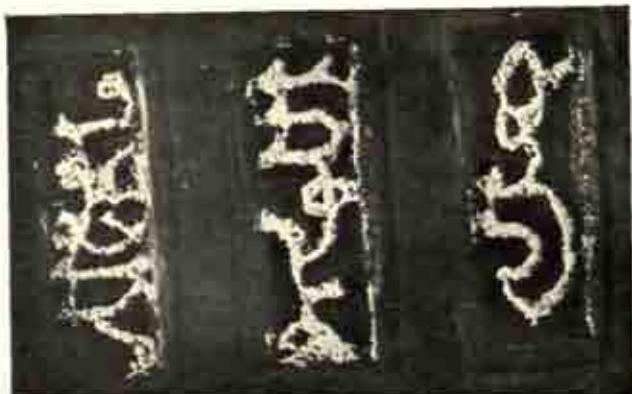
Then all entered the Dewan. Prayers were read and the ceremony ended with 17 guns being fired from the flag-staff hill.

A SHAER.

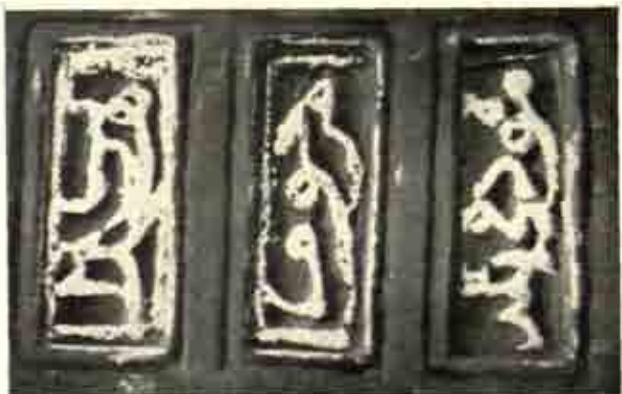
By the late RAJA HAJI YAHYA BIN RAJA MUHAMMAD 'ALL

Alah-lah bisa oleh biasa,
Ayohai sakalian yang bijaksana!
Ini-lah madah fakir yang hina.
Fikirkan, tuan, dengan sempurna!
Fikir dengan bersunggoh hati!
Saperti demikian sila-lah lihati!
Kias ibarat nyata-lah pesti;
Mahu-lah di-ketahu'i di-ambil heriti.
Laksana ayam di-matikan lipis,
Umpama'-nya santan sudah bertapis,
Barang yang bulat sudah-lah pipis,
Bahasa Melayu tiga'-nya lapis.
Fikiran suntok, mata pun luyu;
Tamthil ibarat kias Melayu.
Api menyala di-sorong kayu.
Di-dalam hati tiada-lah bimbang;
Sama berat daching penimbang,
Laksana saperti bunga yang kembang,
Ma'a sadikit di-sering kumbang.
Putus-lah jazm, fikiran himat
Mendengar bunyian terlalu adzmat;
Di-pohonkan Tuhan mlempahkan rahmat,
Makin bertambah kelazzatan neemat.
Sa-ribu shukor fakir piatu
Ber-naung di-bawah goa'-nya batu;
Sejok dan dingin ayer di-situ,
Panas dan hujan tiada mclatu.
Goa nen gunong yang teramat tinggi,
Permai'-nya tiada terperekikan lagi,
Batu charlis empat persagi,
Sudah sa-tuju sa-rupa-lah ragi.
Demikian-lah takdir Khalik al-bari.
Atas hamba'-nya fakir yang bahari.
Sangat-lah hairan fakir memandang,
Gunong yang tinggi menjadi padang.

Sa-lama tikus pandai bērgēndang,
 Katak mēlompat mēnchabut pēdang.
 Di-dalam hati sangat-lah pusang
 Mēlihat pēngkalan di-tutup pasang;
 Sa-lama birah mēnjadi pisang.
 Biawak pun sudah mēnjadi musang.
 Kapada fikiran sēsak dan walung
 Memandang pipit mēnggonggong hēlang;
 Sa-lama harimau tiada bērbēlang.
 Di atas tēngkok-nya kambing bērjulang.
 'Ajaib tēmēnong hairan tēfēkor
 Mēlihat puyoh panjang-nya ekor
 Chēndērawaseh mēnjadi pikor
 Sa-buah lautan habis tērbongkor.
 Kēhēndak Allah sudah tērbahagi,
 Lēmbing yang tajam mēnjadi sēligi;
 Sa-lama kuching tiada bērgigi,
 Di-hadapan-nya tikus pulang pergi.



b.



a.



c



d

MARHUM MUDA PAHANG.

By W. LINEHAN.

In an old royal grave-yard at Pekan, known as *Makam Chondong* or *Makam Tujuh Beradek* are a pair of tombstones photographs of which accompany this paper. The inscription (Pl. XXXVI) on only one of the stones is decipherable. I am indebted to Engku 'Abdu'l-Hamid bin Engku 'Abdu'l-Majid of Johore for a reading of the inscription. I accept the following provisionally:—

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (a) | <i>Hadza al-kubur Marhum Muda Abdullah (?)</i> | " This is the grave of Marhum Muda Abdullah (?) |
| | — | — |
| (b) | <i>Allahumma</i> | " May God |
| | — | — |
| (c) | <i>Berahmatika Ya-ar-ham al-rahimin</i> | " Bless Thou
" Oh God the Merciful!
" Possessor of blessings! |
| (d) | <i>Amin ya-Rabb al 'alamin Ya ghafur</i> | " Grant Thou O Lord of the Universe
" Most Forgiving " |

Pl. XXXVII gives a general view of the stones. Who is this *Marhum Muda*? According to the Perak royal " Book of Descent " (*Salasilah*) (J.S.B.R.A.S., June 1882) a *Marhum Pahang* asked a princess of the royal family of Perak in marriage for his son the *Raja Muda* (of Pahang) the princess being a niece of *Sri pada Mangkat di-Kuala* of Perak (this Ruler had come from Aceh). Perak consented to the marriage and the princess was brought to Pahang. She met the Pahang escort at Kuala Tembeling where the marriage took place. The *Raja Muda* was installed as *Raja* in succession to his father. He begat two daughters and when he died was known as *Marhum Muda*. After his death his widow and his two children were sent to Perak. When Iskandar Muda (*Marhum Mahkota 'Alam*) of Aceh conquered Perak the daughters of *Marhum Muda* of Pahang and their mother were carried off captive to Aceh. Among the captives there was a grandson of *Marhum Kasab* of Siak named *Raja Sulong*. He married one of the daughters of *Marhum Muda*. *Raja Sulong* was sent as Sultan to Perak with the title of Sultan Muzaffar. Thus the Perak account.

The *Bustanu's-Salatin* records that Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh (son of Sultan Ahmad of Pahang who had been taken captive to Aceh in 1618 and married to Iskandar Muda's daughter) sent (in 1638–1639) tomb-stones to Pahang for his relatives' graves (the "lantern" stones in *Makam Chondong* are known as *Batu Aceh*). These stones are identified as having been placed in *Makam Chondong*. It is very probable from the above that *Marhum Muda*, a photograph of whose tomb-stones is here reproduced is

the *Marhum Muda Pahang* referred to in the Perak *Salasilah* and it may be that *Marhum Pahang* his father was the Sultan Ahmad who was carried off to Acheh in 1618. This would explain the reference that the son succeeded the father who had been exiled. If this conjecture is correct Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheh (patron of the author of the *Sejarah Melayu*) would be a half-brother of *Marhum Muda Pahang*.

The above note was written before I had read Dr. Winstedt's reference to *Marhum Muda Pahang* (J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. X, pt. III, pp. 44-45). "How could a Raja Muda of Pahang who married a Perak princess about 1600 succeed Marhum Pahang who died in 1677?" *Marhum Muda Pahang* died before 1638. In the Perak account the father of *Marhum Muda Pahang* is referred to as *Marhum Pahang* and the ruler who died in 1677 as *Marhum Mangkat di-Pahang*. The answer to Dr. Winstedt's query is that these names *Marhum Pahang* and *Marhum Mangkat di-Pahang* refer to different personages.



The Perak "Pallava Seal."

A note by ROLAND BRADDELL.

In his foot-note to Professor J. Gordon Harrower's Article in the last Part of this Journal (see p. 209), Mr. Ivor Evans refers again to "the seal with the Pallava inscription" which he found at Tanjung Rawa, Selinsing, Perak. As Mr. Evans tells us in Part 3 of Vol. XV of the Journal of the Federated Malay States Museum, pp. 110 and 111, Dutch authorities in the Netherlands East Indies "agree in reading the inscription, which is in the Pallava script of South India, as 'Sri Visnuvarman,'" and on the form of the letters ascribe the seal to about 400 A.D.

Dr. van Stein Callenfels, however, pushes the date forward to 600 A.D. Dr. C. O. Blagden and Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum think A.D. 400 "somewhat too early, and that it is even possible that the seal may be a great deal later;" and they read the inscription as "Sri Visnuvarmasya."

Indian scholars are now concentrating on the history of Greater India and of such scholars none stands higher than Professor K. A. Nilakanta, who holds the chair of Indian History and Archaeology at Madras University. In October of last year I invited his opinion as to the "Pallava" seal and this is what he very kindly replied:—

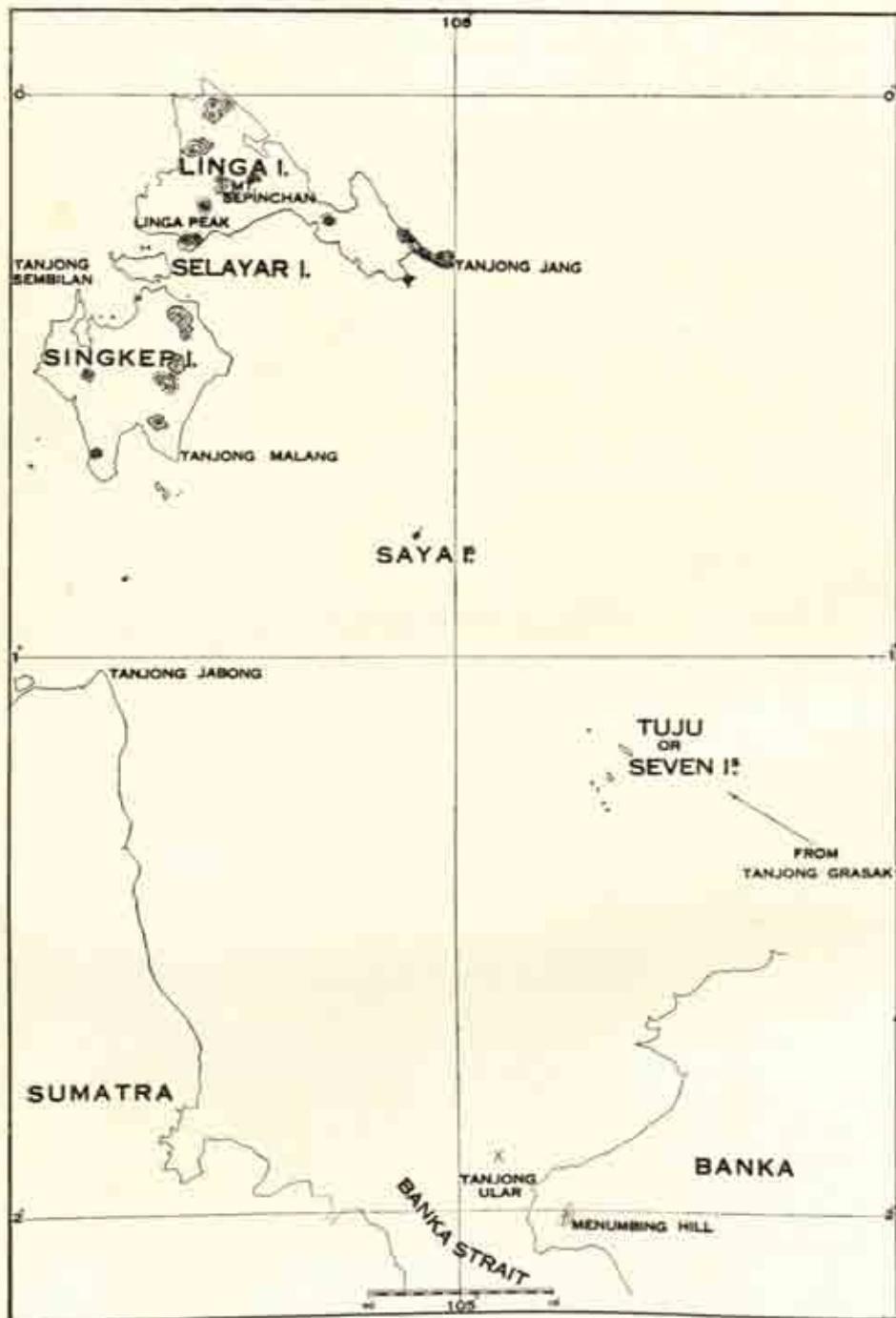
"I had occasion to consider the "Pallava" seal reported on in the Journal [*i.e.* that of the F.M.S. Museum] some time ago, because one of my students happens to be working on the history of the Pallavas. I am unable to agree that the seal is specifically Pallava or that it is a very early specimen. On the whole, I am inclined to the view of Blagden and Barnett, that the writing on the seal is much later than 400 A.D. It seems to me that the style of writing in this seal is later than that of the Sanskrit inscriptions from West Java, which have been dealt with by Vogel and which resemble very closely the true Pallava records of South India. The writing on the seal may be read either Sri Visnu Varma-sya or Sri Visnu Sarma-sya, the termination being wrong in either case, and the usual form being Varmanah or Sarmanah. The proper place for the seal, wherever it may be, does not seem to belong to Pallava history."

In my letter to the Professor I had ventured to make a certain suggestion and the following further quotation from his letter should prove of interest:—

"You say it would be well for Indian students to traverse the whole ground of Indian colonisation of the South East Asia, independently of what European writers have to say. I agree with you, and, as a matter of fact, I have formed a plan on more or less the same line, and have now gone some way with it.

I am more immediately engaged on a continuous history of the Cōla power, which I must get off my hands, before I can undertake a tour in South Asia to see things for myself and then sit down to write the new account that you and I have so much at heart."

French scholars like Coedès and Dutch scholars like Kern, Brandes, Vogel, Krom, Bosch and Callenfels have thrown much light on Indian influence in the Malayan region, but few of their interesting discoveries have been printed in English.



POLEPON.

by J. V. MILLS, B.A. (Oxon.)

On the 10th April, 1622, Willem Ysbrantsz Bontekoe sailed from Batavia bound for China.

After describing his voyage to Banka Strait, which he calls "the Strait of Balimbam" (*i.e.* Palembang), he continues:—

"The 29th" (April) "in the afternoon we came to the northern end of the Strait of Balimbam, and the island of Banka was S. E. of us at about a mile distant; we continued north to the island of Polepon. The 30th we came to anchor at the S. E. end of Polepon in twelve fathom and sandy ground. Its coast is highland.

The 1st May we lay to the West side of the abovenamed island in nineteen fathom anchor ground over against the most northerly sand-bay, where the fresh water is a little within the wood, in a flat hollow or dell. From the north end of the island of Banka to this above-mentioned island the course is North nineteen miles.

The same day we set sail again; set our course N. E. and N. E. by N., so as to sail above or to the east of the island of Linga.

The 2nd we kept twelve miles N. E. by N. After noon the east corner of the island of Linga was four miles S. W. by W. of us. The coast is very high on the north side. From the west side of Polepon to the east side or corner of Linga the course is N. N. E. and so northerly nine miles, depth eighteen, nineteen, twenty fathom." (Hodgkinson and Geyl. *Willem Ysbrantsz Bontekoe*. (1929). pp. 81-2.).

The general course of the voyage is clear, and, with the exception of the mysterious "Polepon," the places which he names can easily be identified: from Banka Strait he sailed northwards to "Polepon," thence N. E. and N. E. by N. to the east point of Linga, thence northwards along the east coast of "Polepaniang" (Pulau Panjang, otherwise Mapor), thence northwards past "Laur" (Pulau Aur, pronounced as in the vernacular) and "Pole Timon" (Pulau Tioman), thence N. N. E. to "Pole Candore" (Pulau Condore). The journey from Bangka to Lingga can conveniently be studied in British Admiralty Chart No. 2757. Professor Geyl identifies "Polepon" with the island of Singkep (*op. cit.* p. 161); with respect, the present writer ventures the opinion that it should preferably be identified with the small island of Pulau Saya or Taya, situated in about latitude 0° 47'S, longitude 104° 56'E.

The reasons for this opinion are as follows.

I. Bontekoe's relation.

First: Bontekoe says that when he came to the northern end of Banka Strait and the island of Banka was S. E. of him at about a mile (i.e. a Dutch mile = 4 nautical miles) distant, he sailed north to "Polepon."

His position, 4 nautical miles N. W. of Tanjung Ular, may be placed in about latitude $1^{\circ} 54' S$, longitude $105^{\circ} 4'E$: this point is marked X. in the accompanying tracing. Now from this point to Tanjung Malang, the south-east point of Singkep, the direction is 27° west of north, and as Bontekoe uses the 32-point compass, he ought to give the course as North North West: on the other hand, if he were sailing for Pulau Saya, the direction is less than 8° west of north, and though the nearest compass-point is North by West, the error is appreciably less than in the other case.

Secondly: Bontekoe says that from the north end of the island of Banka to "Polepon" the course is North nineteen miles.

By "the north end of the island of Banka" presumably Bontekoe refers to Tanjung Ular, for if he meant the most northerly point of the island (that is, Tanjung Grasak, in the north-west), the course to Tanjung Malang, so far from being North, would be North West by West.

From Tanjung Ular to Tanjung Malang the distance is $87\frac{1}{2}$ nautical miles, or approximately 22 Dutch miles (= 88 nautical miles).

On the other hand, the distance from Tanjung Ular to Pulau Saya is 72 miles, or 18 Dutch miles; which approximates more nearly to the distance given by Bontekoe.

Thirdly: Bontekoe says that from the west side of "Polepon" they set a course of N. E. and N. E. by N. in order to sail to the east of the island of Linga.

Now a course of N. E. from Tanjung Sembilan, the north-westerly point of Singkep, would lead almost straight to two mountains, Linga Peak and Mount Sepinchan, which are situated roughly in the middle of Linga Island and are over 3,000 feet high. So it is clear that either Bontekoe has made a mistake in his directions or Singkep cannot be "Polepon."

On the other hand, a course of N. E. and N. E. by N. from Pulau Saya would bring Bontekoe to a spot not far from where he says they found themselves, namely, about 16 nautical miles from the south-east corner (Tanjong Jang) of Linga Island.

Again, Bontekoe says that from the west side of "Polepon" to the east corner of Linga the course is N. N. E.; this, too, is consistent with the identification of "Polepon" and Pulau Saya, for a vessel keeping this course would arrive at a spot about 9 nautical miles east of Tanjong Jang.

Fourthly: Bontekoe says of "Polepon" that "its coast is highland": this would be a correct description of Pulau Saya which, though only some half-a-mile square rises to 689 feet; but it would not be a correct description of Singkep, the coasts of which consist of marshy plains.

Fifthly: certain minor indications suggest that Pulau Saya is referred to:—

- (a) Bontekoe speaks of "the most northerly sand-bay where the fresh water is a little within the wood": now on the western side of Pulau Saya are two small coves with sandy beaches, where boats can land; in the vicinity there are wells of fresh water, which may be important to mariners, as no similar facility for watering occurs between Banka and Rhio Straits. (*Eastern Archipelago Pilot*, Vol. IV. (1927), p. 141).
- (b) Pulau Saya lay directly on Bontekoe's course, whereas the route by the west coast of Singkep would involve an addition of about 60 miles to his journey, and some rather difficult navigation; moreover, Bontekoe "came to anchor under Polepon" on his return journey (*op. cit.* p. 127); if "Polepon" is Singkep, it might be expected that he would give the reasons for these detours.
- (c) It seems doubtful whether after lying to the west of Singkep on 1st May, Bontekoe could, by the afternoon of 2nd May, have travelled to a spot 16 miles N. E. by E. of Tanjung Jang, i.e., a distance of at least 60 nautical miles.

II. Linschoten's directions.

After directing the navigator southwards as far as the south-east corner of Linga, Linschoten continues:—

"to goe to Pulo Pon, (which is an Island distant from Linga 8 miles, on the North side having two small Ilandes, and when you are on the Northeast side, it seemeth to be round, with a sharpe hill in the middle, and from the Southeast side it sheweth two Hilles with a vallie in the middle, as in effect it is,) then you must runne South Southwest, and being three or foure miles forward, you shal see the Island of Pulo Pon lie before you: in it you have fresh water, and round about it is fayre ground: when you see it, you shall make towards it: on the West side, and halfe a mile from it you shall finde 15 fadome deep, and being by it runne South, and South and by East, with the which course you shall see the hill of Manopijn, lying upon the point of the Ilande Banca, where the straight of Palimbion beginneth, and the seven Ilands, called Pulo

Tayo, shall lie southeastwarde from you, which are distant from Pulo Pon 7 miles." (W. P.'s translation of Linschoten. (1598). Book III, chapter 27).

And again, in the opposite direction:—

" For when the hill of Manopiin (that is, the point of the Iland Banca) lyeth full Eastward from you, then you shal crosse over, keeping your course two miles from it, to avoide a Rife that lyeth southeast from it, and being in this parte whereby the hill of Manopiin lyeth southeastward from you, then you shal run North and Northeast and by east, by ye which course you shal see 7 Islands, lying altogether, by the country people called Pulo Tayo, which lie about 15 miles from Manopiin these islands shall lie on the southeast side from you, and being right against these Ilands, you shal see a little Hand lying in the Northeast, which hath 2 houelles in forme like two men: it lyeth about seven miles from the aforesaid Ilands, and is called Pulo Pon. From these Ilands aforesaid then your course lyeth along by this Hand." (*op. cit.* Chapter 29.).

One concludes that a small Island called Pulo Pon lay about 32 nautical miles from the south-east corner of Linga and about 28 miles from the Tuju or Seven Islands.

This must be Saya Island, which lies $28\frac{1}{2}$ nautical miles from Tanjung Jang and 28 miles from the northwesternmost of the Tuju Islands: it cannot be Singkep, if Linschoten's distances are correct.

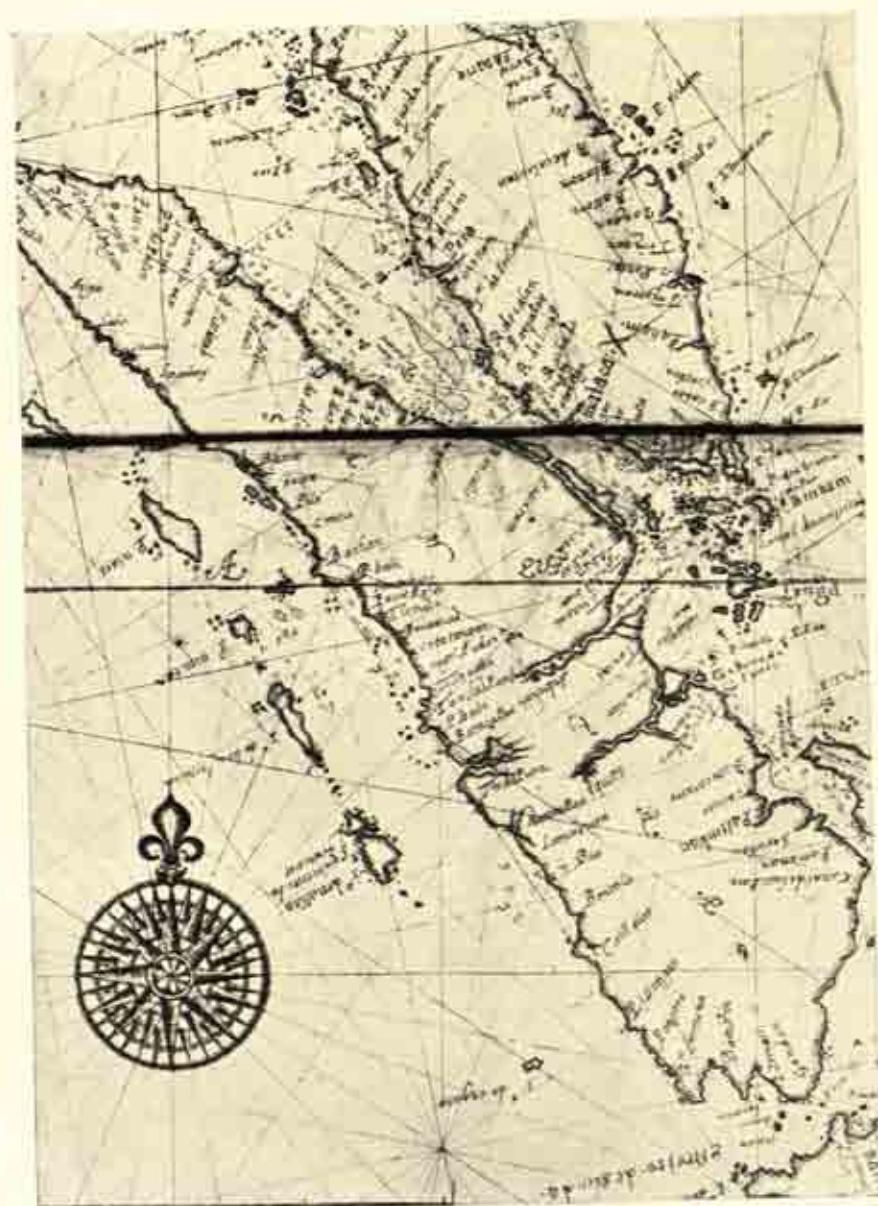
Moreover, the identification with Pulau Saya is borne out by the description of the island:—

- (a) According to Linschoten, Pulo Pon has two small islands on the north side; close north-eastward of Saya are two steep, granite rocks, the Niamok islets: off the north coast of Singkep, on the other hand, lie at least 5 small islands in addition to the larger island of Selayar;
- (b) According to Linschoten, Pulo Pon when seen from the south-east shows two hills with a valley in the middle: Pulau Saya has two peaks in line on the bearing 018° : Singkep, on the other hand, has at least 9 hills or mountains.

Linschoten's "hill of Manopiin" or "Manopijn" is Menumbung Hill, called "Monopin" by Horsburgh ("India Directory," (1843), p. 198).

III. Maps.

Several of the old maps mark an island bearing a name like "Polepon" and situated approximately in the position of Pulau Saya:—



- (i) "P. pao." Map of F. Vaz Dourado; date probably 1580; P. G. Teliki. *Atlas zur Geschichte der Kartographie der Japanischen Inseln.* (1909). Plate IV. 1.
- (ii) "Pulo Puō." Map in the Latin edition of Linschoten's *Itinerarium:* 1599.
- (iii) "P. toupon." Map entitled "Indiae Orientalis Nova Descriptio;" by G. Mercator and J. Hondius; originally published at Amsterdam by Joannes Janssonius in his atlas of 1633; Coote, *Remarkable Maps.* Part II. (1894). No. 7.
- (iv) "P. Pao." Ms. map of Pedro Berthelot, Cosmographer Royal of the Indies; date 1635; in Resende's "*Livro do Estado da India Oriental.*" British Museum, Sloane Ms. No. 197, folio 389-90.
- (v) "Toupon." Map of Sanson d'Abbeville; date 1654.
- (vi) "P°. Toupon, p°. Saya." Ms. map of J. Blaeu; date unknown, perhaps about 1655; British Museum, Manuscript Room, No. 9047. (Johan Blaeu was cartographer of the Dutch East India Company from 1638 to 1673; according to Wieder, there is no reason for ascribing to Blaeu the responsibility for the contents of these charts; as long as there are no indications to the contrary, we must consider the name of Blaeu on these charts merely as an indication that a sailor who wanted that particular map, could get a copy in Blaeu's office.).
- (vii) "P. Tapon. P. Sayer." Ms. map entitled "A description of the sea coasts etc. in the East Indies" by William Hacke; date apparently about 1680; British Museum, Manuscript Room, Maritime, VI, 1, 6L.
- (viii) "P. Pao." Map entitled "A Map of the Streights of Malacca," date 1688; Wilkinson. *Voyages and Discoveries by W. Dampier.* (1931). Facing p. 9.
- (ix) "Pulo Taupon ofte Pulo Soya." Map entitled "Sumatrae et insularum locorumque nonnullorum circumiacentium tabula nova" in "Atlas Major" of C. Allard, Amsterdam, Tome III, map 471; date about 1700; British Museum Map Room, 114, d. 5 — c. 6. c. 4.

The name "Saja" first appears by itself in a map entitled "Indiae Orientalis nec non Insularum adjacentium nova descriptio" by Nicolaus Visscher, inserted in Jansson's Novus Atlas of 1657-8; Coote, *Remarkable Maps*, Part III, No. 4.

The name "Taya" first appears by itself in D'Anville's map of 1752.

D'Aprés de Manneville's "Neptune Oriental" (1781) refers to "Pulo-Topon ou Taya" (p. 315).

Horsburgh's "*India Directory*" (1843) speaks of "Pulo Taya or Saia."

The text of "*The Eastern Archipelago Pilot*," Vol. IV, (1927), mentions only the one name "Saya," although the name "Taya" appears in the prefatory chart.

The earlier name was "Saya;" Dalrymple (1786) says "Po. Saya is called Po. Taya in modern charts."

To summarize, one thinks it reasonably certain that Bontekoe's "Polepon" should be identified with Linschoten's "Pulo Pon," with the Pulo "Pao," "Puo," "Toupon," "Tapon," "Taupon," "Topon," of the old maps and sailing directions, and with the modern Saya.

The forms of the name are rather curious: one hazards the guess that the original name was Jabong or Jibon; about 37 miles away from "Polepon" on the Sumatran coast the Chart marks "Tanjong Jabong;" in Anderson's "*Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra*" (1826) it is named "Tanjong Bon (properly Jibon);" the map to Anderson's "*Acheen*" (1840) marks it as "Pt. Pon;" it seems probable that an abbreviated form "bon" was corrupted by the Portuguese into "paō" (nasalized), and that the forms "Tapon" etc. were wrongly written with a "T" instead of a "J."

As an example of the old maps, a photographic copy of Berthelet's map (1635) is here reproduced; this map, it is thought, has not hitherto been published, and the writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to the Trustees of the British Museum for permitting its publication.

Unfortunately the folding of the page obscures several names in the southern portion of the Malay Peninsula between "Malaca" on the west coast and "P. Caban" (Pulau Keban) on the east: they are, however, decipherable on inspection of the original; these names, with suggested identifications, are as follows.

"Pongor;" Punggor,

"Moar;" Muar,

"Padam;" Padang,

- "R. fermozo;" Rio Formoso, *i.e.* the beautiful river, the name given by the Portuguese to the Batu Pahat River,
"Ponti;" Pontian,
"P. Pissan;" Pulau Pisang,
"Ia. Alagada;" Ilha Alagada, *i.e.* the inundated island, probably Pulau Kukup,
"Polle;" Pulai,
"Salatebrau;" Selat Tebrau, Johore Strait,
"Simcapura;" Singapore,
"Chabandar;" Shahbandar, Port Officer,
"Jor;" Johore,
"Pegoraō;" Pengerang,
"Sidilli Bassa;" Sedili Besar,

SOME MALAY WORDS AND DERIVATIONS.

By C. N. MAXWELL.

That fine colloquial scholar Mr. A. W. Hamilton is a tireless collector of words but I venture to suggest that he strays beyond the recognised limits in his most recent article, "Some Malay words" (JRASMB, December 1933) which contains 7 Chinese words out of a total of 14.

If these words are accepted we abolish all linguistic boundaries and make Malaya a cosmopolitan rubbish heap. The Malay is acquisitive, learns easily and probably the average kampong dweller could give the Chinese and Tamil names for most of the articles sold in the Chinese shops in his village. Thus, if we add *so'un* and *sardine* to our Malay vocabulary we should, in due course and with equal reason, add *port-wine* and *Worcestershire sauce* and even *jâte de foie gras*. Mr. Hamilton helps the student of the Malay language by drawing attention to such kindred words as *kuda*, *kudiro* and *kudirei* in the Malay, Malayalam and Tamil languages respectively and as our knowledge of the Malay radicals increases I should expect Chinese scholars to find very many affinities between Chinese and Malay.

My point is that there should be a good and a defined reason for permitting the entry of a foreign word into our Malay dictionaries, as good, for example, as the reason which gave a name to our English *ketchup* or *catsup*, this word owing its origin to the discovery of Malayan spices and being derived from the Malay word *kéchap*.

Three of Mr. Hamilton's new words viz. *lémusir* (*lémbusir*), *bagok* and *saudara mara* will be found in Wilkinson's dictionary, but, perhaps the article was written before the dictionary was published. The student might be misled by the explanation of *bagok* as being a common proper name for the "pig-tailed macaque" as Reynard is for a fox in England. There is a catfish which shares with the monkey the same descriptive synonym and it refers in each case to specific physical features (cf. *bégok*) whereas Reynard from O. H. German reginhart means "strong in counsel." The pet name or proper name comes later as when a Malay refers to the monkey as "chump-face" and to the fish as "old fat-chops"!

I have one other criticism which will, I trust, be received by a new and welcomed contributor in the spirit in which it is offered. Mr. R. J. Bee has taken up an interesting form of research in which previous articles in the Journal by Messrs. Pepys and Sturrock would have greatly helped him. The opening words of his contribution entitled "Some Kélantan Place Names" are "The interpretation of most Malay place names is by no means an easy matter." He would have found the interpretations of *krai* (*keral*)

and *tēmiang* in Wilkinson's dictionary. His dictum that *tumpat* (*Kuala Tumpat*), the port of Kélantan is derived from the local name of a special kind of cake cannot stand. *Kétupat* are not local delicacies; they are made in every village throughout Malaya. There is a very definite *m* in *tumpat* but not in *kétupat*, and it is essential that research into the original meaning of Kélantan place-names should be preceded by a thorough understanding of this Kélantan shibboleth.

Mr. Bee tells us that *Tabal*, a village on the East coast of Siam, near the Kélantan border, is derived from *Tak Bai* the Pétani dialect for "The place of drying sails." But, we are left to wonder which word means "drying" and which word "sails." It does not sound convincing and it does not look like Malay. Not knowing the place, I will draw a bow at a venture and suggest that this village is low lying, and if so, that the only place available for drying sails, nets, etc., is on reclaimed land, *tambak*, and that here again the elusive "m" has escaped Mr. Bee's notice, though the connection with *tambal*, patching, should not be overlooked.

A good way to test dialect words is to have them written down, by a local Malay, in Jawi. Letters which the uninitiated have not heard will then proclaim their existence. We have been told that *bétul* is pronounced *bétiū* in Kédah. But the truth is that the Kédah Malay writes, hears and pronounces the "l" in exactly the same way as a Frenchman writes, hears and pronounces the "l" in *parcile*, *evential* and *Marseilles*. And, that is why I say there is a very definite *m* in *tumpat* which the Kélantan Malay writes, hears and also pronounces in his own particular way.

[*Note.—*Mr. Bee's article professed to give not scientific but folk derivations Ed.]

OBITUARY.

JOHN DESMOND GIMLETTE.

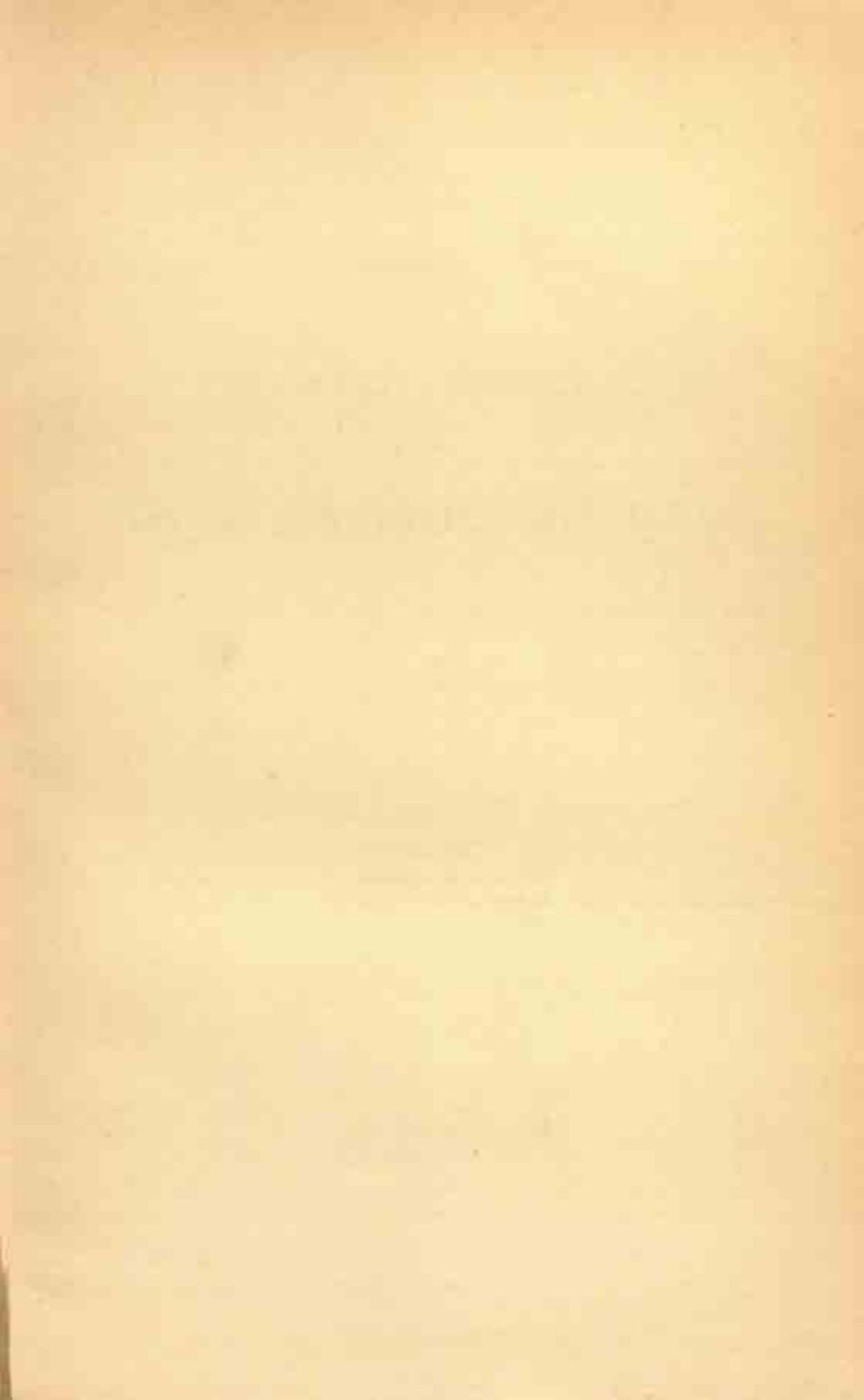
WHEN we first met at Ipoh in 1903, neither John Gimlette nor I could foresee that we were both to find a common interest in Malay research.

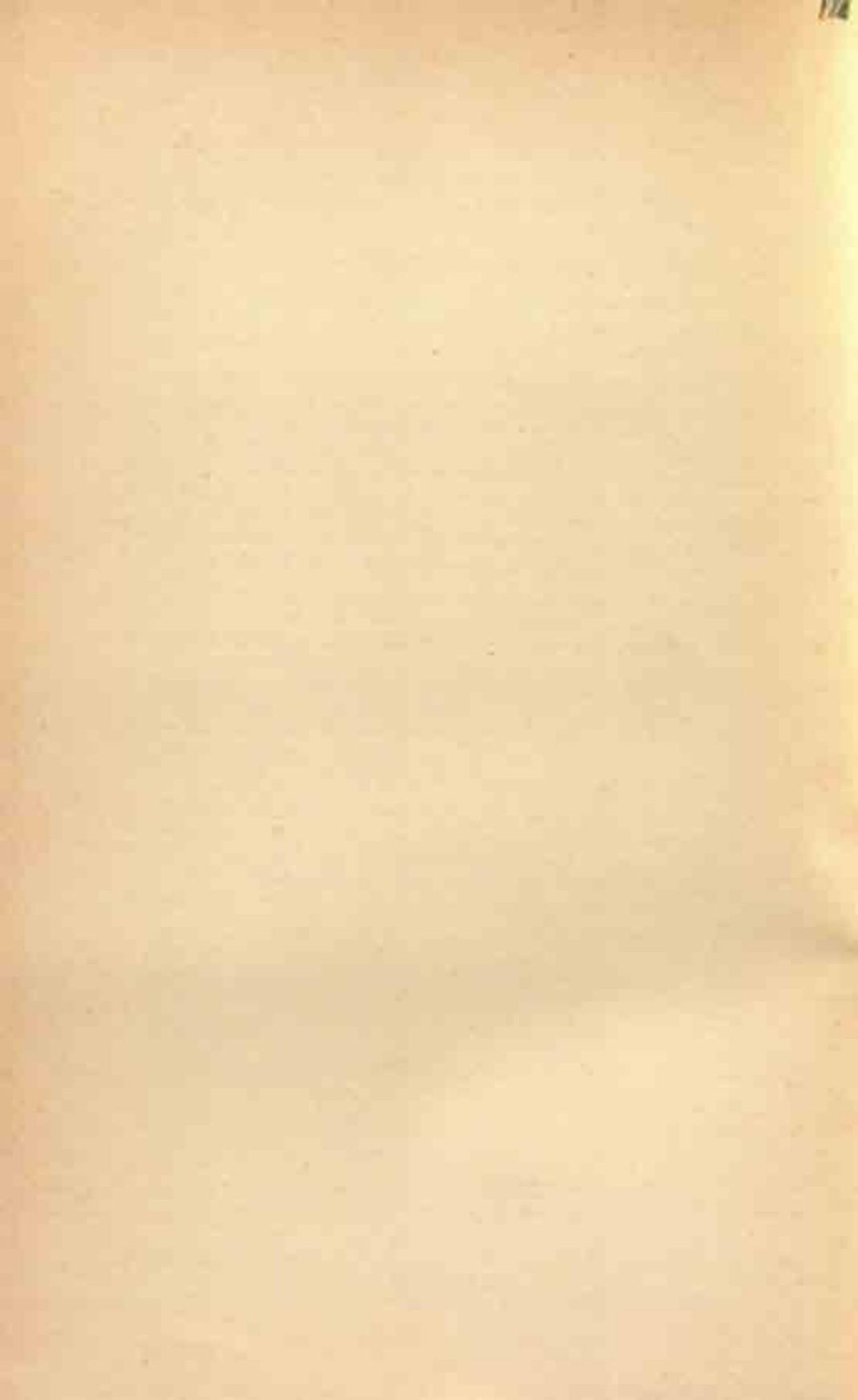
Appointed Surgeon Magistrate, Selinsing, Pahang in 1886 he resigned government service to join the Duff Company in 1903. From that year he worked in Kelantan for the remainder of his stay in the East, first with the Duff Company and then from December 1908 in the government service again. From April 1915 until August 1918 he served in the War, achieving the temporary rank of Major in the R.A.M.C. The victim of devotion to his Kelantan patients, he lost a leg which entailed great suffering bravely borne and led to his retirement in 1921.

Gimlette's best known book, which ran into three editions, was *Malay Poisons and Charm Cures* (London), a study at once scientific and humanistic, typical of the man and revealing that interest in the Malay mind which won the regard and confidence of his patients. Gimlette also edited *The Medical Book of Malay Medicine* (Straits Settlements Garden Bulletin, vol. VI, part 3) and in October 1927 he published locally *Incidents in the Life of a Resident Surgeon*. He died aged 67 on April 24 at his home at Cheam, Surrey, engaged on a *Dictionary of Malay Medicine*.

Unassuming, sympathetic, alert at work and study John Desmond Gimlette was a type of all that is best in the colonial medical service and will be mourned by many friends of many races. This Society records the passing of a gentleman and a scholar and extends its condolence to his widow and children.

R.O.W.





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I am greatly indebted to His Highness Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Sulaiman Shah, G.C.M.G. for his portrait and for the Joan of Malay manuscripts dealing with the history of Selangor. I have also to thank Mr. F. W. Douglas, late of the Malayan Civil Service, for criticisms and material for my chapters on the same State.

The second portrait in this book has been graciously presented to me by His Highness the Yang di-pertuan Besar 'Abdu'r-Rahman, K.C.M.G., the first Barrister to ascend a Malay throne and the son of a Ruler who will always be remembered by those who knew him as a very great gentleman, distinguished even in a race of gentlemen. Dr. C. O. Blagden and Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G. have kindly read my MS. on the History of Negri Sembilan and supplied me with helpful criticisms.

The genealogy of the Yang di-pertuan Besar has already been printed in Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's *Sri Menanti* and a fuller Selangor tree in my edition of the *Tuhfat al-Nafis*.

R.O.W.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

- | | | |
|-----|---|---------------------|
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Corrigenda et addenda.

- Page 4, line 29. Add "After the eighth century A.D. Sri Vijaya used Nagari" etc.
- " 4 line 32. For it read Selinsing.
- " 18 line 10. For van Pordenone read Pordenone.
- " 56 Add note. *The Dutch fort at Tanjong Putus was broken up at the end of the XIXth century and its bricks used to make the road at Teluk Anson. The ditch and banks still remain.*
- " 113 line 43. For Queen read Quem.

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A
HISTORY
OF
SELANGOR



I.

BEFORE THE BUGIS.

A few neoliths, a find (at Batang Berjuntai) of three socketted iron tools of the type known as "ape's bones" (*tulang mawas*), a bronze bell-like article dug up at Klang along with more ancient iron socketted tools, these few exhibits in the Museums of Kuala Lumpur, Taiping and Singapore are the only relics of early civilisation in the tract of country now known as Selangor.

Writing in 1225 but quoting the *Ling wai tai ta* of Tcheou Ki'u-fei which antedates 1178, the year of Sri Vijaya's last embassy to China, Chau Ju-Kua puts among the dependencies of that old Buddhist kingdom of Palembang (or perhaps of its successor, Malaya or Jambi) a place called Fo-lo-an which may stand for Puloan, which again may be the Islands of the Klang delta.

In the *Nagarakrtagama* Klang is mentioned along with Sungai Ujong, then Sang Hyang Ujong, as subject in the middle of the XIVth century to Majapahit.

Reputed to have been used by the eunuch Cheng Ho who seven times visited the overseas "barbarians" between 1405 and 1433 A.D., Chinese charts mention Langkawi, Kedah river, Pinang island, Pulau Sembilan, *South Shoals* (at the mouth of the Klang), *Selangor highlands*, *Klang river*, Tumasik (or Singapore) and many other places round the Malay Peninsula.

Even in the fifteenth century when the whole tract was subject to the Sultans of Malacca, it was not yet a united country but consisted still of separate river states of which only Klang and Jeram are mentioned in the *Malay Annals*. Those annals relate how in the reign of Muzaffar Shah (1445-1458) the people of Klang deposed their chief (*penghulu*) and asked the Sultan of Malacca to appoint another, whereupon the post was given to Tun Perak, a member of the great Bendahara family who had settled at Klang. The next Sultan of Malacca, Mansur Shah, (1458-1477) had married a Chinese Hang Li Po, "daughter of the Emperor of China," whose escort were the original settlers at Bukit China, Malacca. By her Sultan Mansur Shah had a son Paduka Sri China, whom he made "raja of Jeram near Langat." "Even now" (1612), adds the author of the *Malay Annals*, "his fort exists and his people at Jeram are very well-mannered, if one meets them."

In the time of 'Ala'u'd-din Shah, first Sultan of Johor (1529-1564) the chief of Klang was his vassal and bore the title of Mandulika, while Selangor also was subject to Johor, representative of the old Malacca empire, and was in charge of a Sri Agar 'diraja son of Tun Isap Berakah, the Bendahara Paduka Tuan of Johor.

It is possible that Mansur Shah appointed his half-Chinese son governor of Langat on account of the presence there of Chinese miners. d'Eredia, writing in 1613, records that when the Portuguese owned Malacca, the yearly output of tin from Klang was more than one hundred *bales*. Newbold records a tradition that, while the Bugis occupied the coast, the right bank of the Klang river was inhabited by Malays and the left by Biduanda Jakun. If the tradition is correct, this division of river may go back to days of Malacca's suzerainty.

II.

THE COMING OF THE BUGIS.

Under 4 August 1681 the *Dagh-Register* records that a fugitive from Kedah claiming to be a younger brother of its Sultan approached the Dutch for permission to use the Dindings as a base where he might assemble 150 Bugis from *Klang* and attack his brother. A further entry under January 1682 states that he went to the Dutch force blockading Perak and wanted permission to resort to *Selangor* for Bugis help against his brother, declaring that with two ships and three to four hundred Bugis he could take Kedah.

Who were the Bugis founders of these seventeenth century settlements in a tract nominally subject to Johor is doubtful. In 1700 the To Engku of *Klang*, a relative of Johor's new Bendahara-Sultan,* presented a seal of authority to a "Yamtuan of *Selangor*." The Bugis famous in Malay history for the first half of the XVIIIth century were five brothers Daing Parani, Daing Menambun, Daing Merewah (or ? Marioh), Daing Chela and Daing Kamase, sons of Upu Tenribong Daing Rilaka of Lakkai, descendant of a queen of Luwu in south Celebes. Daing Parani is said to have killed a Macassar prince for an intrigue with a concubine of the Raja of Boni, after which Daing Rilaka and his five sons sailed away to win fame and fortune in Borneo, the Riau archipelago and Malaya.

In 1685 the Dutch asked Johor to require Rembau, Tampin, Sungai Ujong, *Klang* and *Selangor* to fulfil their old agreement not to molest Malacca. But the old Malay kingdom of Johor fell into disruption after the murder of the last prince of the Malacca line at *Kota Tinggi* in 1699, his Bendahara successor being too weak to control his own brothers. Johor lay an easy prey for adventurers, and the adventurers pounced on her. In 1717 Raja Kechil, a Sumatran pretender to the ancient throne, meeting at Bengkalis Daing Parani and Daing Chela', promised to make the former Yang di-pertuan Muda of Johor if they would help him to take that country, whereupon the two Bugis chiefs went to *Langat* to collect forces. Raja Kechil having contrived to capture Johor Lama on 21 March 1717 without Bugis aid repudiated his promise, which led to prolonged wars at Riau, Linggi and Kedah between the Bugis and Raja Kechil's Minangkabau warriors. In 1721 Daing Parani's chain-clad Bugis defeated with muskets and blunderbusses Raja Kechil's cannons and swords and drove him from Riau. The Bugis again sought reinforcements from *Selangor*, which according to the *Tuhfat al-Nafis* was full of rich traders and now provided a fleet of thirty sail. Raja Kechil

*Tradition says that two sons of Megat Sri Rama, the murderer of the last Malacca Sultan of Johor, settled at *Klang*. Their names were Che' Akob and Che' Akhir.

retook Riau, whereupon to create a diversion the Bugis from Selangor attacked Linggi, then part of the kingdom of Johor. Raja Kechil came to the aid of Linggi; the Bugis fleet feigned defeat and doubling back once more took Riau. In 1722 the Bugis chiefs elevated the rightful claimant, Raja Sulaiman, to the old Johor Sultanate, while for themselves they created the title of Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau, and so, established nominally as Under-kings but actually as rulers of the ancient Johor empire, they transferred the centre of Bugis influence from Selangor to Riau. In the same year, however, Daing Parani is said, on the advice of Sultan Sulaiman, to have married the daughter of a Bugis Yam-tuan of Selangor, by whom he got a daughter.

The next Bugis campaign was in Kedah, where, having established the eldest son of its deceased ruler on the throne, Daing Parani married the sister of the new Sultan and after a few months sailed back to Riau. Thereupon a younger brother of the new Sultan invited Raja Kechil, who had now retired to Siak, to oust the Bugis candidate from the Kedah throne and support his rival claim. Eager to thwart in Kedah the Bugis he could not expel from Riau, the Minangkabau warrior accepted the invitation. The Bugis hurried to defend their Sultan and fight their implacable enemy Raja Kechil. The struggle lasted for two years. Kedah trade was ruined. Daing Parani was killed. Finally Raja Kechil was driven back to Siak. Geography and Perak history go to show that Selangor must have been a Bugis base in this long Kedah campaign. Before his death in 1728 Daing Merewah, the first Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau, invaded Perak; its Sultan 'Aia'u'd-din Mughayat Shah being attacked by his younger brother Muzaffar Shah from Bernam, and therefore obviously with Bugis aid from Selangor.

Selangor itself did not escape fighting at this time. There was a Daing Matekko, a relative of the five famous brothers, but a son-in-law of the Penembahan Agong of Matan whom the brothers deposed. After this Matan campaign in 1721, Daing Matekko had sailed to Siak, whose ruler Raja Kechil was at war with the five Bugis brothers at Riau. Later, however, Daing Matekko seems to have patched things up with his relatives at Riau, marrying there an Engku Tengah, perhaps the widow of Daing Parani. But in 1730 we find Daing Matekko being defeated and driven to Siak in some fight with the Bugis in Selangor, and a year later Raja Kechil was taking him to Riau to sue for pardon and to ask for his wife, a request that was rejected. In 1740 Daing Chelak second Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau visited Selangor, and along with Sultan Sulaiman put to flight a Siak fleet, commanded by a son of Raja Kechil and by Daing Matekko. Not long afterwards Daing Chelak took his wife Engku Puan Mandak to visit Selangor and in 1742 led from there another raid on Perak, when perhaps the Raja di-Baroh 'Abdu'l-Jalil, son of

Sultan Sulaiman of the Johor-Riau kingdom, was present with the Bugis forces. This attack seems to have been directed against Minangkabau interference in Perak from Kedah, in which Daing Matekko (? the Matkah of the *Misa Melayu*) was again involved.*

On 19 May 1745 Daing Chelak died, leaving two sons destined to become famous, Raja Haji who died fighting the Dutch at Teluk Ketapang in Malacca and Raja Lumu who, descended on the distaff side from its original Bugis chief, was created first *Sultan* of Selangor. Bugis ascendancy now excited not only Malay jealousy but the fears of the Dutch who saw their tin monopoly disregarded and their commerce with the western states invaded by Bugis traders and upset by Bugis fighting. Sultan Sulaiman and Trengganu even looked to the Dutch to save the Malays from Bugis domination. And on 14 December 1745, Sultan Sulaiman, ruler of the old Johor empire, ceded Siak to the Dutch in return for their promise of help against his enemies, and at the same time undertook that, when he could exercise *his former authority over Selangor, Klang and Linggi*, he would observe all Johor's old treaties with the Dutch East India Company—a reference to the tin monopoly.

Daing Chelak was succeeded as Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau by his nephew Daing Kemboja, called after death Marhum Janggut. Before taking up office, Daing Kemboja visited and consulted his relatives in Selangor, who according to one account installed him there. Certainly he did not formally assume office in Riau until 11 March 1748. Possibly Daing Kemboja made his peace with Sultan Sulaiman and the Malay faction at Riau by promising help in a campaign against one of Raja Kechil's sons, Raja 'Alam, who having been driven from Siak by his brother, a nephew of Sultan Sulaiman, was trying to found a kingdom on Pulau Siantan, one of the Natuna islands. But either Daing Kemboja deliberately delayed or Sultan Sulaiman and his father-in-law, Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, would not listen to Daing Kemboja's advice and await Bugis reinforcements from Selangor. After a long and futile investment of Pulau Siantan, the Malays had to solicit the assistance of the Yang di-pertuan Muda, an ally far more dangerous than their foe. Daing Kemboja came and conquered, letting Raja 'Alam escape to Matan. Soon after this Raja 'Alam returned and married Daing Khatijah, a sister of Daing Kemboja! In 1752 Sultan Sulaiman attacked Siak in the interests of his nephew, but that nephew listening to Bugis rumour that his uncle wanted to win Siak for the Dutch, ungratefully (in January 1753) fell on him and drove him back to Riau! Relations between the Malays, as represented by Sultans Sulaiman

* See my *History of Perak* (pages 61, 62); Muzaffar Shah seems to have won his throne by Bugis aid and then to have changed over to the Minangkabau side and Daing Matekko, this leading to the Bugis invasion of Perak in 1742.

and Mansur, and the Bugis, headed by the Yang di-pertuan Muda, were so strained that Daing Kemboja now removed the leading Bugis and the biggest guns to Linggi where he established himself as an independent ruler.

In August 1755 the Dutch defeated Raja 'Alam, the real enemy to their trade in Siak. In January 1756 grateful for Dutch help in the Siak war and impressed by Dutch power Sultan Sulaiman visited Malacca and signed a new treaty with the Dutch Company. The Company agreed as far as possible to recover for this *roi vaincu* his lost possessions, and the Company was to have a monopoly of tin in those Bugis strongholds, Selangor, Klang and Linggi. This concession cost Sultan Sulaiman nothing but naturally it drove Daing Kemboja and the Bugis chiefs to fury. Before he left Malacca on 30 January 1756 Sultan Sulaiman is said to have written to Daing Kemboja at Linggi, Raja Tua at Klang and Sultan Salahu'd-din of Selangor, asking if they recognized his rule or not. The answer was swift. By the end of April, the Bugis were burning houses in Malacca. Sultan Mansur of Trengganu hesitated to attack Daing Kemboja at Linggi but in the presence of a Dutch commissioner, Ary Verbrugge, met the Sultan of Selangor at Tanjung Kling and tried in vain to induce him to desert Daing Kemboja. At the end of July Dutch and Trengganu fleets attacked Linggi and drove the Bugis to abandon their ships. By October Malacca territory was being wasted by Daing Kemboja and his Bugis and Rembau allies. It was not until May 1757 that Linggi fell. On 12 December 1757 Sultan Sulaiman tried to get the better of his insubordinate subjects by ceding Linggi and Rembau to the Dutch. Less than a month later, on 1 January 1758 at Fort Filipina, Linggi, Daing Kemboja, Raja Tua of Klang and Raja 'Adil, a Bugis chief who had established himself as Yang di-pertuan Muda of Rembau, also made a treaty with the Dutch! So afraid was Sultan Sulaiman of the Bugis that he asked for a Dutch garrison for Riau and Dutch help to regain Siak and Selangor. But in December 1759 Daing Kemboja's famous warrior nephew, Raja Haji, sailed past the Malay forts at Riau and anchoring before Sultan Sulaiman's palace induced that tired potentate to make terms with the Bugis and invite Daing Kemboja to Riau. In the middle of 1760 Sultan Sulaiman, nominal overlord of the Riau Archipelago, Johor, Pahang, and the territories that are now Negri Sembilan and Selangor, passed to his rest. In January 1761, his heir, the Raja di-Baroh or Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah died in Selangor—according to the Malays, from poison. From now till he died in 1777 Daing Kemboja lived as Yang di-pertuan Muda at Riau with Raja Haji brother of the Sultan of Selangor as To' Klana and his assistant.

When was Raja Lumu, the brother of Raja Haji, actually created first Sultan of Selangor with the title of Salahu'd-din Shah? Netscher, a careful historian, is authority for Sultan Sulaiman

having addressed him by that title in his letter of January 1756. Did Daing Chelak force the elevation of his son Raja Lumu to the Sultanate after his conquest of Perak in 1742? Sultan Sulaiman's treaty of 14 December 1745 acknowledged that he could no longer exercise authority over Selangor and Klang, but his authority had been decaying for years. If Daing Kemboja was installed as Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau at Selangor in the middle of that year, it would appear likely that he was installed by a Sultan rather than by a Yang di-pertuan lesser in rank than himself, but was he formally installed before he went to Riau? The order of narration in the Batavian *Hikayat Négéri Johor* suggests that Raja Lumu was installed Sultan between the death of Sultan Sulaiman at Riau in 1760 and the death of his grandson, Sultan Ahmad, in 1761 but the order of narration is of doubtful value. The contemporary Perak history, *Misa Melayu*, makes the ruler of Perak from 1750 to 1764 a powerful undisturbed potentate and puts Perak's creation of Selangor's first Sultan in the reign of Sultan Mahmud (or Muhammad) Shah who ruled Perak from about 1765 till 1773. Certainly it would appear incredible that for all their practical ambition the Bugis would have been guilty of the indelicacy of creating another Sultanate within the old Riau-Johor empire before the death of Sulaiman in 1760. After that date (except for Sulaiman's son who died in 1761) the next Riau-Johor Sultan to reach the age of fifteen was Sultan Mahmud in 1770! And between 1760 and his death in 1777 Daing Kemboja, Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau, was *de facto* ruler of the old Riau-Johor empire. The *Misa Melayu* further records that just before his invasion of Kedah in 1770 A.D. Raja Haji escorted his brother Sultan Salahu'd-din up the Perak river to demand for him the hand of Sultan Mahmud's niece. On the evidence, one is inclined to believe the *Misa Melayu* that it was between 1765 and 1770 that the Raja of Selangor visited Perak, was given a *naubat*, presented with a *chap* and created Sultan Salahu'd-din. The Bugis must have known that the Sultans of Perak belonged to the old Malacca-Johor royal family; and those Sultans were the near and nervous neighbours of the Selangor Bugis. The *Tuhfat al-Nafis* suggests that the installation was a bright idea that struck the Perak ruler while Raja Lumu was amusing himself at Pangkor and it adds that the Sultan of Perak was present at the subsequent formal installation of the new Sultan in Selangor and contracted a treaty of amity with him. Soon afterwards the Raja Muda and other Perak chiefs were invited to Selangor for the wedding of Salahu'd-din's daughter to Raja 'Abdu'l-lah, who in 1778 became Sultan of Kedah.

On the death of Daing Kemboja in 1777, Raja Haji got the Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid, who lived in Pahang, to instal him as Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau. The Bugis now ruled the coast of the Peninsula from Bernam to Malacca, had chiefs at Sungai

Ujong and Tampin and had their own nominees on the thrones of Lingga, Kedah and Perak. Raja Haji, a soldier rather than a diplomat, was to cause the first eclipse of their fortunes. Quarrelling with the Dutch in 1782 over his share in a captured East Indiaman, Raja Haji invoked the aid of Selangor and Rembau and started raids in the Straits of Malacca. Before the end of January 1784 he forced a formidable Dutch fleet to raise the siege of Riau. Having heard of their uncle's war at Riau, Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor together with his brother (and Raja Muda) Nala started to create a diversion in his favour. Sailing up the Linggi river they captured some Malacca Tamils resident at Rembau, collected Minangkabau fighters from Rembau and Pedas and sailed along the coast of Malacca reducing the whole country to the westward as far as Tanjung Kling seven miles from Malacca. On 14 January the Selangor forces landed at Batang Tiga, built stockades and burnt the houses there and at Tanjung Kling. Along with Minangkabaus from Rembau and Pedas they maintained their position and harassed the Dutch until a month later Raja Nala sailing to Riau induced Raja Haji himself to attack Malacca. By March 14 the Bugis were attacking the outer batteries of Bunga Raya, a suburb of Malacca. Guerilla warfare and nightly alarms in Malacca continued until 18 June when a Dutch fleet under Jacob Pieter van Braam landed 734 bayonets at Teluk Ketapang, who captured the stockade there and shot down Raja Haji.

Whether the Sultan of Selangor was present in Malacca at the time of Raja Haji's defeat and death is not recorded. Apparently he was away at Rembau where he married the granddaughter of Yang di-pertuan Raja 'Alam. Anyhow the defeat of their champion sent the Bugis forces scuttling home. But the Dutch were not content with this. On 13 July there sailed for Selangor the ships *Utrecht*, *Goes*, *Princess Louisa* and *Wassenaar*, together with the barks *Constantia* and *Gertruida Susanna*, the penchalangs *Rustenberg* and *Geduld*, the galley *Concordia*, the sloop *Volle Maan*, the lighters *Haas* and *Vos* and some armed Malay boats from Siak. The castle at Malacca fired a salute of 21 guns when van Braam announced the conquest on 2 August of Selangor. Sultan Ibrahim fled on foot to Bernam and thence to Pahang, while the Dutch proclaimed as ruler in his stead Raja Muhammad 'Ali, son of Raja 'Alam and grandson of Raja Kechil of Siak. Raja Muhammad 'Ali soon left Selangor and on the night of 27 June, 1785 Sultan Ibrahim with the aid of the Bendahara 'Abdu'l-Majid of Pahang surprised the Dutch fort* at Kuala Selangor, which the garrison abandoned in a panic, leaving behind all their heavy artillery and ammunition. Ibrahim now asked

* Newbold (II p. 28) says the Dutch had "an establishment at Salengore for the monopoly of tin, and also a fortified work on the hill, called Fort Altingsburgh; another called Fort Utrecht, and a battery named after the admiral, van Braam."

Captain Light (of Penang) for authority to hoist the British flag, even addressing a request to the Governor-General of Bengal to found a British settlement in Selangor. "In July last," Light wrote to the Governor-General of Bengal, "the King of Salengore having collected about 2,000 Pahangs, crossed over to Salengore, and in the night sent a few desperadoes to massacre the Dutch. They got into the Fort, and wounded one of the Sentinels and the Chief, but the garrison taking alarm killed eight of the Buggese, dispersed the rest, and in the morning the Dutch, being afraid of another attack, embarked in their vessels and fled to Malacca, leaving all their Stores, Provisions and Ammunition undestroyed; the King took possession and still keeps it. The King of Salengore cannot remain in his present situation, his people are kept together by hopes of assistance from the English, which he expects from the preference our Merchants always received from him and his Father above any other nation. I had scarcely arrived when I received intelligence that the Dutch Fleet consisting of three large Ships and fourteen sail of Prows and Sloops, were before Salengore. The King, unable to procure provision or to support himself longer without assistance, entered into a Treaty with the Dutch. It is said, they obliged him to swear on the Koran he would send all the tin to Malacca and be a friend of the Dutch. They took away all the Guns which they had lost there and have now sent for him to Malacca." The Dutch blockade lasted over a year.

When in 1787 Ilanun pirates captured Riau causing the Dutch Resident to flee, we find Sultan Ibrahim acting as an intermediary between the Dutch and Sultan Mahmud whom the Dutch blamed for the Ilanun attack. In August 1788 Selangor sent envoys to Malacca on behalf of the Yang di-pertuan Muda of Riau, Raja 'Ali who also was in disgrace over the taking of Riau. Perhaps because they feared the trade rivalry of the newly founded port of Penang, the Dutch agreed to let Raja 'Ali settle at Muar, provided he supported the commercial treaty with his brother-in-law, Sultan Ibrahim.

About this time, not content with domestic warfare, Raja Nala, the Raja Muda of Selangor, accepted an invitation from the Achinese to assist in an expedition against the Orang Dusun. He died in Aceh.

In 1795 the English occupied Malacca when relations between Selangor and the Dutch virtually came to an end, though about 1,800 Sultan Ibrahim went to Lingga and is said to have stayed there two years trying to settle differences between Bugis and Malays. The British remonstrated but the Sultan replied:—"I am desired not to interfere in the disputes with Riau; this is very unreasonable, and cannot be complied with, as I must certainly go to Riau and must not neglect going, because I can never be separated from my Brethren nor can I rest without seeing

Sultan Mahmud and Raja 'Ali, because Sultan Mahmud is my younger Brother, and Raja 'Ali my elder; for which reason it is proper that I should go to Riau, or even to Lingga, to learn why my Brothers are fighting among themselves, to give them good advice, and see that matters are amicably settled between them, agreeably to the ancient Treaty with the former Kings of Johor. Do not entertain an idea, that I am going to Riau to cause trouble and strife; for, if either Raja 'Ali or Sultan Mahmud get ruined, I shall be the loser. I shall now explain the succession of my Brothers to the Country of Johor, where the Raja in former days was a Bugis and his Country was taken by the King of Minangkabau and Siak. The Malay Raja applied to an ancestor of mine for assistance, which was granted, and he took the Country from the Minangkabau people;† following the course of the new River named Klan Jaya Putra.† He then entered into a Treaty with the Malay Raja, and they both swore to it, and they lived on terms of the greatest friendship, which was continued by their successors for many generations, and the succession to Yang di-pertuan, Raja Muda, Bendahara, Temenggong and Raja Indrabongsu continued regular and was never altered. And now Yang di-pertuan is the Malay Raja and Raja 'Ali is the Bugis Raja. As it is the custom among the black people that the eldest is always the Raja, if Raja 'Ali was not in being, I should be Raja of Johor, because both Sultan Mahmud and Raja 'Ali's Father were related to me. Raja 'Ali's Mother and my Mother were Sisters, and Sultan Mahmud's Mother was my Father's Sister. This is the relationship between us. Surely you will not separate the white from the black of the eye, flesh and blood. It would be unreasonable to prevent my going to Riau. Raja Bendahara, who is at Pahang, and Inche' Muda at Bulang with Raja Indrabongsu are under Sultan Mahmud and Raja 'Ali. The Malay and Bugis Rajas in that Country are like unto Husband and Wife,—the Malay Raja as the Wife, and the Bugis Raja as the Husband, because the Bugis Raja, Raja 'Ali made the present Sultan Mahmud Raja, and a Malay Raja created the Bugis Raja, and they govern jointly. I understand that Inche' Muda has assumed the Government of Riau and this changing the Government is the cause of all the disturbances."

But the politics of Europe were to divide the Malays of the Peninsula from their brethren in islands on the starboard side of East Indiamen voyaging to China. And though in 1819 the Governor of Malacca, Timmerman Thyssen, browbeat Sultan Ibrahim into renewing his earlier commercial treaty with the Dutch, yet by the London treaty of 1824 His Netherland Majesty engaged never to form any establishment in the Malay Peninsula or to conclude any treaty with any of its princes or chiefs. The trade and bellicosity of the Bugis of Selangor were now to be directed towards Perak, Kedah and Malacca's successor, Penang.

† A mistranslation.

III.

RELATIONS WITH PERAK, SIAM AND PENANG.

(1800-1857).

While Sultan Ibrahim was at Lingga, Perak, underestimating the power of the Bugis owing perhaps to the then Malay occupation of Riau, was so rash as to send an embassy offering the Perak throne to Mahmud, ruler of the old empire of Johor and the Riau archipelago. But not yet had the Bugis of Selangor lost that martial enterprise which made the Sultan of Kedah in 1772 refuse to allow the Madras government a settlement at Penang unless it undertook to aid him against Selangor. Accompanied by his cousins Raja Ja'afar and Raja Idris and by his sons Rajas Isma'il, Muhammad, Hasan and 'Abdu'llah, in 1804 Sultan Ibrahim conquered Perak and held it subject for two years. On his return the Sultan stationed his cousin Ja'afar at Klang until in 1806 Sultan Mahmud of Lingga summoned him to Riau to become its sixth Yang di-pertuan Muda.

There was very friendly correspondence between the English Governor at Penang and the aging Sultan Ibrahim, who heard with dismay of the retrocession of Malacca to the Dutch in 1818. On 9 September 1818 Bannerman was promising to send a vessel at the Sultan's charge to bring the Sultan and his family to Penang and was telling His Highness that passages to Mecca by an Arab vessel could be got at \$30 for each man and \$50 for each woman and that half the round-house could be rented for \$500; if the Arab vessel had to fetch the Sultan from Klang, the charge would be \$1,000 or \$1,500 more. This was just after the treaty of Commercial Alliance between the English East India Company and the Raja of Selangor, settled by Mr. Walter Sewell Cracroft on 22 August 1818, whereby the Sultan agreed not to grant monopolies to any one and not to "renew any obsolete and interrupted treaties with other nations." In October the Sultan wrote to the Governor that he had delivered to His Excellency's Agent Mr. John Anderson 100 *bahar* of tin, which the Company purchased at \$43 a *bahar*, sending arms and gunpowder in part payment—"In Selangor I cannot reckon for certain on any great quantity of tin: if there is rain, the miners can work, but if there is no rain, they cannot. If the Dutch Company come, I will show them the documents I have and I shall not submit the affair to my friend." His Highness sent the Governor 150 *tampang* of tin and asked for 100 muskets and 6 pair of cannons six cubits long with balls of 12 lbs.

On 21 September 1818 the Dutch reoccupied Malacca. On 28 March 1819 the new Governor, Timmerman Thyssen, sent the old Dutch treaty with Selangor to be renewed, at the same time expressing his satisfaction that Selangor was going to help Perak

oust the Siamese, so that the Dutch could renew old treaties with that State also. On 3 May Thyssen wrote to Sultan Ibrahim: "I am very glad my friend remains faithful to the Treaty of 29 July 1790. It is impossible to set aside such a Treaty. It is difficult to comprehend how the English acquired such power with the Sultan of Johor, Lingga, Pahang and Riau, but the people of those countries at once saw it was unjustifiable, as, like my friend, the Sultan of those countries cannot act without the sanction of the King of Holland. So I have sent Commissioner John Hendrick Stecker with the Treaty newly contracted with the above ruler and I trust my friend and his Raja Muda and his ministers will enter into a new treaty between Selangor and the King of Holland. I desire it sworn and signed. The coming of the English signifies nothing as they and the Dutch are the greatest friends in the world." On 15 May the Sultan reported what he had shown the Cracroft treaty to the Dutch who had refused to recognize it but did not want it referred to Penang "as Dutch and English were the greatest friends in the world"; Timmerman Thyssen had reminded him of his treaty of 29 July 1790 with Couperus and wanted it renewed; will the English support him or else release him from the Cracroft treaty? On 3 June the Sultan wrote again: "The Dutch oppressed me, wanting to oblige me by force to renew the Treaty of 1790. Mr. Cracroft said that when the Dutch government in these parts ceased, the Treaty expired and could not be renewed. So I entered into two treaties with Messrs Cracroft and Anderson and desired to observe them. When I made the Treaty with Mr. Cracroft, I requested that the Company should engage to defend Selangor from all her enemies but his orders did not permit him to agree. Now the Dutch would attack and ruin Selangor unless I had signed an agreement. When Mr. Stecker intimated this and intimidated me, I was in distress what to do. So for fear of consequences I ratified a treaty which Mr. Stecker told me had been in force since 1790. It was forced upon me and unless the English help I cannot escape from it: if I fail to observe it, my country will be conquered and ruined. For Selangor is near to Malacca."

On 8 August 1819 Sultan Ibrahim informed the Governor at Penang that he had sent his wife and children by Captain Thissel to Penang to be under His Excellency's protection pending the arrival of an Arab ship.

By 1822 mainly with the help of Selangor, Perak had expelled her Siamese conquerors, but she had to agree to pay tribute to Sultan Ibrahim, who as early as 1819 had left a relative Raja Hasan to collect it. A treaty between the two States signed on 11 July 1823 ran as follows:—

1. The duty levied on Perak tin is to be equally divided between the contracting parties as between brothers.

2. With respect to trade between Selangor and Perak, the relatives of the Sultan of Selangor are to be trusted, and there is to be mutual intercourse between them and Sultan 'Abdu'llah. Traders from Selangor will be allowed free trade in Perak, but no one, not even the relatives of the Sultan of Selangor, will be allowed to trade in tin.
3. If a Perak subject flees to Selangor or a Selangor subject to Perak, the ransom shall be \$10 a head. For relatives of the contracting parties no ransom will be exacted.

Each ruler in his own State was to have power of life and death over subjects of both the contracting parties. Theft of tin by subjects of either ruler was to be punished by death. The death of either ruler was to be reported to the survivor, so that he and his chiefs might come and settle the succession. This treaty further stipulated that the duty on Perak tin should be \$12 a *bahar*.

In 1824 Selangor captured 40 Siamese boats containing 205 *bahar* of tin from Perak. In January 1825 Perak was invoking Siamese aid against Selangor. Quite probably Perak gladly let Selangor intercept her forced tribute to Siam and then irked by Selangor exactions and terrified of Siamese vengeance turned again to Bangkok. But on 28 April 1825 Governor Fullerton informed the Raja of Ligor that the English had (on 17 March 1824) taken over Malacca from the Dutch by the treaty of London "with all its possessions and privileges acquired by treaty with the Malay States near Malacca." The Dutch had been friendly with Perak and especially with Selangor. "I am forced to caution Your Excellency not to attack Selangor. That State is not nor ever has been in the remotest degree connected with the Siamese dominions. Should Your Excellency disregard this caution, possibly a very serious misunderstanding between the Siamese and English may take place." However to defend Selangor's doings was not easy. For on 6 June the Sultan of Perak was writing to the same Raja or Chau Phya of Ligor: "You sent prows to return the Raja Bendahara from Ligor and to convey 52 *bahar* of tin that accompanied the tribute and 75 more *bahar* as an offering from us all, together with tin belonging to the Panglimas of different prows. Just as Che' Hat, the Siamese envoy, was quitting the Perak river to return to Kedah, the Raja of Selangor with his Raja Muda and his nephew Raja Hasan of Selangor attacked. I and my family fled upriver. Che' Hat and his people escaped overland to Kedah. Then the Raja of Selangor established Raja Hasan at Kuala Bidor and would not let Perak folk pass to buy salt etc. Raja Hasan has committed many acts of oppression on the ryots of Perak... I request a Siamese armament may be sent to settle" the trouble! Moreover the Perak chiefs told the Chau Phya how ever since his conquest of Perak in 1804 the

Sultan of Selangor had demanded a strip of territory from Kuala Bidor to Kuala Perak. However Fullerton would not desist from his efforts to prevent Siamese influence creeping south of Kedah. On 9 June he wrote to the Chau Phya: "British troops have taken Mergui, Tavoy and Tenasserim; they have placed themselves between you and the Burmahs, relieved the States of Rending, Poongha and your own from all alarm, and instead of assisting the British according to your professions, your first act is to collect the military resources of these very States and come down in hostile array against a British settlement.... The British Government occupied Penang for trade: extension of their territory has never been their object nor have they wished to intermeddle with the disputes of their neighbours.... Following this forbearing course, you have been allowed to expel the king of Kedah, an old friend of the English, and to occupy his country; you have been allowed to impose upon Perak feudatory vassalage and to cause it to transmit the Golden Flowers, which was never done before. These were not Siamese but ancient Malay States and now you intimate your desire to send Prows to Selangor. My friend, where is this to end? The British Government has settlements south of Selangor and it is not considered consistent with their security to allow an armed force to possess themselves of that country, and therefore I must caution you against any attempt of that kind." The Chau Phya agreed to recall his forces and spare Selangor, provided the British undertook to prevent Sultan Ibrahim from interfering with Perak. On 31 July a preliminary treaty signed by Burney and the Raja of Ligor for ratification by Madras and Bangkok engaged that the Siamese should colonize neither Perak nor Selangor and that the British should not occupy Perak but merely prevent Selangor from disturbing its peace and should evict the Selangor tax-collector, Raja Hasan. For the first time in history the British were to have a legal right to prevent Siamese armaments from going to Perak and Selangor. At once, on August 10, Governor Fullerton sent John Anderson to Perak and Selangor to settle differences between their rulers and the Chau Phya. On 19 August the Chau Phya forwarded presents of silk and *chutam* for the Governor-General and agreed to Fullerton despatching two vessels to keep the peace between Perak and Selangor and to his settling the Bernam boundary. Anderson must have had some trouble over his negotiations, which however ended in an agreement signed on 20 August 1825, confirming the treaty of 1818, fixing the Bernam river as the boundary with Perak and promising that Selangor would not attack Perak or interfere in its government but immediately remove Raja Hasan from Perak. The evidence that negotiations were difficult begins with a letter dated 26 August, in which Sultan Ibrahim informed Governor Fullerton how when having expelled the Siamese he had installed 'Abdu'llah as Sultan of Perak, a treaty had been made on 11 July 1823, stipulating

that Selangor should enjoy half the duty of \$12 levied on every *bahar* of Perak tin. On 10 September the Sultan wrote to Anderson that he could not agree to the treaty (which he had signed) until Perak had paid her debt and arranged this matter of the tin duty. On 23 September Fullerton wrote to Ibrahim, expressing satisfaction that His Highness was sending prows to fetch the guns in charge of Raja Hasan at Kuala Bidor and adding that a British cruiser would remain at Perak until Raja Hasan had removed. Fullerton promised to consider the matter of Perak's debt to Selangor but insisted that there should be no trespassing beyond the new boundary. Finally he reminded the Sultan that but for British intervention Siam would have invaded Selangor, and he advised His Highness to pay to Siam \$2,000 in cash or tin as compensation for the property seized from Siamese prows by his sons Raja Muda and Raja Dollah. On 15 October Ibrahim retorted that he would rather lose his life than pay \$2,000 to Siam for property he did not take. The Sultan of Perak owed him \$3,128 and half the duty on Perak tin as stipulated in the 1823 treaty. If Perak did not pay her debts, he must go and collect the money. Raja Hasan was sent there at Perak's own request and had married an aunt of the Perak Sultan. On 21 October Fullerton expostulated that after Great Britain had prevented a Siamese attack on Selangor he had not expected a dispute over \$2,000 and that the Sultan must abide the consequences. Fullerton promised to investigate Selangor's claims on Perak but Ibrahim must adhere to the treaty and not molest his neighbour. Again on 3 November Sultan Ibrahim reiterated his claims, enclosing a letter to himself in which the Perak ruler declared that all Perak business was in the hands of the Governor and the Chau Phya. In 1826 Fullerton sent Low to enquire into Selangor's claims, instructing him that "the King must be made to understand that this Government will protect him from any interference from Perak so long as he maintains himself in independence of Siam by the assistance of the British Government, but if he of his own free will will place himself in dependence on Siam the obligation will cease." It was not until 27 October, by which time the old Sultan had passed away, that Low submitted his report. Sultan Ibrahim had put to death an important witness, a Chinese, Nakhoda Lampong, who collected the tin duty for Raja Hasan. But Perak had a counter-claim for a sum of \$2,712 which the new Sultan of Selangor, Muhammad, admitted, plus the value of 30 *bahar* of tin taken from the side of the Bernam that after Anderson's treaty belonged to Perak, plus a few minor amounts. Altogether there was a balance of \$345 in favour of Perak, besides which the old Sultan of Selangor had seized Perak guns and Perak subjects. The Sultan of Perak disclaimed responsibility for the debts of individuals, especially of Raja Hasan, seeing that at the time they were contracted Sultan Ibrahim had usurped rule in Perak and could have collected them.

Apparently the new ruler of Selangor accepted these figures, as correspondence ceased. According to Anderson, as Raja Muda this ruler frequently lived at Bernam in the thick of the Perak squabbles, in spite of which he begat 60 children of whom about half survived.

Anderson, whose *Considerations* were printed in 1824, gives us some idea of the size of Selangor at this time, inaccurate as it must probably have been. Bernam and Lukut had each about 1,000 people, Kuala Selangor 400, Klang before the war in Perak in 1822 about 1,500, Langat and Jeram 500 each, smaller places about 500 in all. Up the Selangor river there were about 1,000 houses. The state was "much more thinly inhabited than Perak: the inhabitants however are a much superior race in point of intelligence and education, and have had more intercourse with Europeans. Their features are of much milder expression than the Perak people and their complexions are much fairer." Bernam was famous for its rattans and a little tin won in Perak. At Api-Api and Kapar rice was cultivated, fruit at Bulu, the coconut at Jeram. The annual amount of tin exported from the Selangor and Klang rivers was estimated at 2,000 pikuls. In 1818 Cracraft contracted with the Sultan to supply 1,500 pikuls annually, receivable at Selangor, at \$43 the *bahar* of 400 lbs. Lumpor was famous for its output. Lukut, too, had lately "become a great place" for the metal: of its 1,000 inhabitants 200 were Chinese miners under a Captain China appointed by the Sultan. Selangor also had a historical claim on Linggi which was not recognized. Newbold estimates that in the '30s Lukut, Klang and Langat together exported 3,600 pikuls of tin a year.

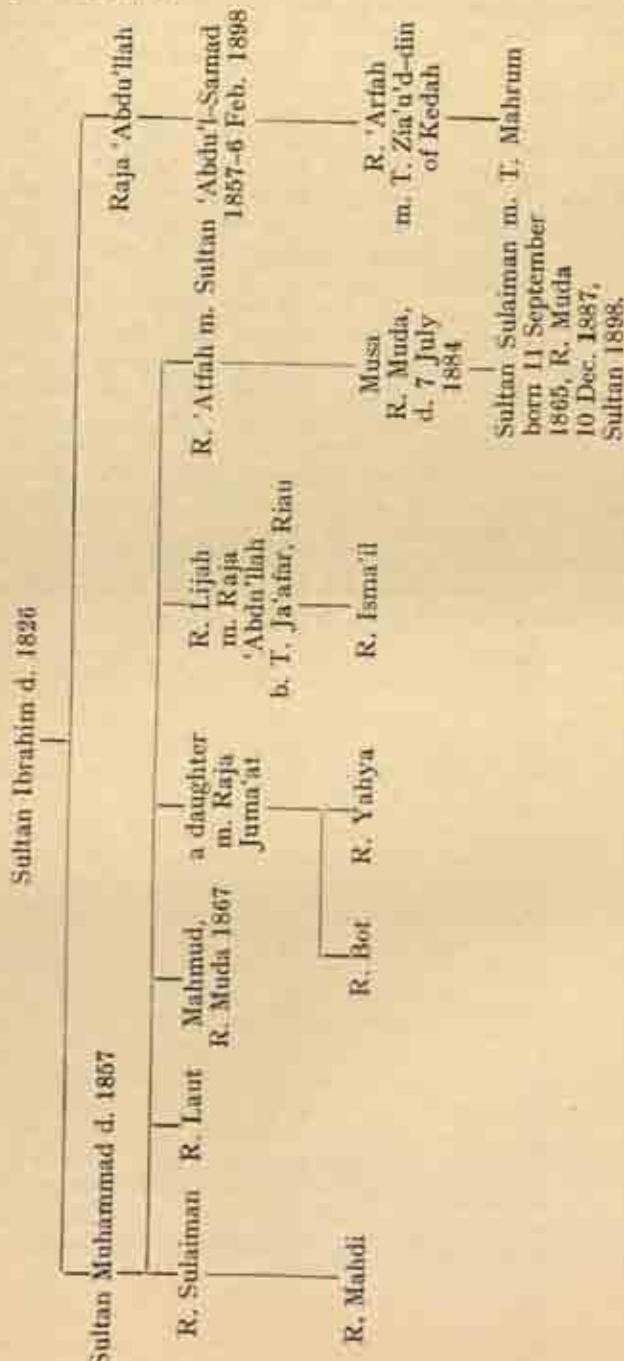
On 21 January 1830 Sultan Muhammad Shah wrote to Penang denying that there had been pirates at Selangor either during his reign or the reign of his father Sultan Ibrahim. But the new ruler lacked the strength and energy of his predecessor. "The country" writes Newbold "has lapsed into comparative decay, and its population is daily decreasing from emigration, the result of the extortions of the Sultan's numerous offspring; who, settling all law and justice at defiance, commit piracies, rob, plunder and levy contributions on the wretched inhabitants." While in charge of the military post of Kuala Linggi, Newbold witnessed one night in August 1833 the wholesale flight of the villagers from Tempuni over the Malacca frontier, where they settled. Half the villagers of Sungai Raya fled into British territory to escape the exactions of Raja Usman, one of the Sultan's sons. In September 1834 the 300 Chinese miners at Lukut rose one dark night, perhaps at the prompting of Malacca merchants, and massacred their employer, Tuanku Busu "a chief and near relation of the Sultan universally respected by the Malays" and regarded as heir to the Selangor throne: his wife and children were thrust back into their burning house. As in Perak, so in Selangor it was Chinese

immigration on a large scale that finally broke down Malay administration. On 18 September 1836 Sultan Muhammad visited Penang to discuss piracy with Mr. Bonham and with Captain Chads of the *Andromache* and to meet a son who had just returned from Mecca. The next year we get an echo of the old Perak troubles in a letter from Sultan Muhammad to Mr. Salmond, Resident Councillor of Penang, reporting that a Chinese Koh Chai, an agent of the Chau Phya of Ligor, had entered Perak in a ship with 200 men to collect Siamese debts. On 5 July 1842 the Governor was again warning the Sultan of Selangor that under the 1825 treaty he must not invade Perak—where the Sultan of Kedah had just seized or was about to seize Krian. In 1851 the Governor wrote asking Sultan Muhammad if it were true that a Lebai Kulop had fastened a bar across the Linggi at Bukit Tiga—in order to collect taxes. In 1854 Lewis, Resident Councillor of Penang, wrote enquiring if two Malays had offered the Sultan a stolen boat for sale and requesting His Highness to send the thieves and the boat to Penang. Between 1844 and the time of his death Sultan Muhammad often visited his pious cousin Raja Ali, the eighth Yamtuan of Riau. In 1857 this Raja Ali died and in the same year, after an inglorious reign, Sultan Muhammad died also. Twenty years before Newbold had anticipated "a struggle for the succession." In his time, two of the Sultan's sons, Sulaiman and 'Usman, and the Sultan's younger brother, Raja Yusuf, were candidates for the office of Raja Muda. But the Sultan was to outlive them all.

IV.

CIVIL WAR.

In 1857 A.D. Sultan Muhammad died suddenly at Klang, leaving succession to the throne still undetermined. Henceforth the royal tree runs:—



As early as 12 January 1858 Governor Blundell informed the widow of Sultan Muhammad, the Tengku Puan Basik, that he rejoiced at the chiefs selection of her son Mahmud to be Raja Muda, but (having already been informed by 'Abdu'l-Samad of his election as ruler) he cannot agree that on her death Mahmud shall become Sultan; that is for the chiefs to decide but, if there is a dispute, he is prepared, with the approval of the Governor-General of India, to meet the chiefs and settle the succession. On 3 September 1860 the Governor acknowledged a letter from the same lady admitting that the chiefs had unanimously elected 'Abdu'l-Samad Sultan. Actually the final election seems to have taken time. In 1867 the Tengku Puan Basik maintained that the late ruler had intended her son Mahmud for the throne, her son-in-law Raja 'Abdu'llah to be Raja Muda and 'Abdu'l-Samad to be Panglima Besar, but on the death of Raja Juma'at (the Raja Tua), in 1864 Raja 'Abdu'l-Samad had seized the throne.

On 6 March 1866 Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad wrote that he had arranged with William Henry Read and Kim Ching to collect the taxes at Klang, each of the two collectors to retain one-tenth of the revenue, and on 20 March the Sultan's brother-in-law 'Abdu'llah, alias Dollah, originally of Riau, wrote Cavenagh to the same effect. Raja 'Abdu'llah had been given charge of Klang by Sultan Muhammad, had introduced Chinese, opened tin-mines up-river and, though he himself lived at Pangkalan Batu, had founded Kuala Lumpor and was collecting a large revenue. His success excited the jealousy of Raja Mahdi, whose father Sulaiman had ruled Klang before 'Abdu'llah superseded him, and had made no profit out of the Malay fossickers and tin-washers who then represented the mining industry. Even a monthly allowance from Raja 'Abdu'llah failed to appease Raja Mahdi and now a feud between Bugis and Mandilings at To' Bandar Yasih's stockade, Kuala Lumpor, provided him with forces. A Batu Bahara man, Rasul, was stabbed and killed. Raja 'Abdu'llah took no notice and punished no one. Thereupon Muhammad 'Akib, head of the Batu Bahara folk, offered Raja Mahdi the service of himself and his people to fight Raja 'Abdu'llah; an offer which Raja Mahdi took "as a sleepy man takes a pillow."

The Bugis entrenched themselves in a stockade at Raja 'Abdu'llah's store (which is now the Klang police-station); the Batu Bahara folk occupied Mahdi's fort on the hill. As soon as he saw hostilities were about to begin, Raja 'Abdu'llah hired a paddle-steamer and removed with his family to Malacca, leaving the old Tengku Puan Basik at his store along with his sons Raja Isma'il and Raja Hassan. The imminence of fighting interrupted the harvesting of an abundant rice-crop but the local people kept out of the quarrel at present. Raja Mahdi lacked money and provisions, while the gun-powder he fetched from Kuala Selangor dated back to the time of the Dutch war; but a Straits-born

Malacca Chinese, Baba Tek Cheng, supplied his needs, accepting only interest on his outlay till victory should put his client in a position to grant limitless concessions of land. On 17 March 1866 Governor Cavenagh, visiting Klang in *s.s. Pluto* found that Raja Mahdi had blockaded the port and detained a British subject, Tiang Poey, though Tiang Poey had paid port dues to the Sultan's representative, Raja 'Abdu'llah. That Raja 'Abdu'llah retaliated we learn from a letter written by the Sultan's son, Raja Musa, reporting to the Governor that Raja 'Abdu'llah had stationed two or three schooners in the straits of Lembading along with six or seven Bugis boats to plunder all craft entering or leaving Selangor: two or three men had been killed and a boat belonging to the Dato' Aru fired on but the Sultan could do nothing! On 29 May 1867 the old Tengku Puan begged the Governor to settle the row between 'Abdu'llah and Mahdi but the Governor replied that, while he would see to the protection of British subjects and their property, settlement was the business of the Sultan. Quite early in this Klang fighting Muhammad 'Akib, the Batu Bahara leader had fallen in the long *lalang* grass outside the fort on the hill, shot dead as armed with sword and shield he was trying to force his way back into the fort through a crowd of Bugis attackers. But in addition to the Batu Bahara folk, Raja Mahdi got the help of the sons of the dispossessed Bendahara of Pahang, who first helped Raja Dollah but quarrelling with him changed sides in return for Mahdi's promise to help in the conquest of Pahang. There were losses on both sides but towards the end of the year (1866) Raja Mahdi starved his enemies into admitting defeat. Raja Hasan had already sailed to Malacca, shot in the leg, and now his brother Raja Isma'il accompanied by the old Tengku Empuan, Raja Bas'i, and his Bugis followers were allowed to embark on Raja 'Abdu'llah's schooner, the *Lone Elephant*, and sail for Malacca, where Raja 'Abdu'llah had settled at Ketapang. Kiang having fallen, Shahbandar Vasih of Kuala Lumpur and Dato' Mantri Sumun came to ask for Raja Mahdi's pardon: the former, a Riau nominee of Raja 'Abdu'llah, wanting liberty to depart, if he might no longer live at Kuala Lumpor. But the Batu Bahara folk had an old score to settle with the Shahbandar nor could Raja Mahdi prevent them: though offered life and liberty, Mantri Sumun would not desert his friend, and they were both shot dead in their boat on the river, the Shahbandar with a young son in his arms. In December, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad, adaptable to every wind of fortune, informed the British government that he was ready to consider the claims of Mr. W. H. Read and Towkay Kim Ching and other British subjects for damages due to the disturbances at Klang.

The second protagonist, a new and potent figure, now entered the stage of Selangor politics, a stage Elizabethan in its alarms and sudden deaths. In 1867 the Sultan's daughter, Raja 'Arifah,

married Tengku Zia'u'd-din, or Kudin for short, younger brother of Almad Taju'd-din Mukarram Shah, Sultan of Kedah. This Raja was energetic and educated and had acquired European ideas of administration and development. Accordingly on 26 June 1868 his father-in-law gave him the following document:—

"In the year 1285 of the Hegira of the Prophet on whom be the peace and blessing of God Most High, on the 5th day of the month Rabi'-al-awal, on Wednesday,—verily, We, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad bin Tengku 'Abdu'llah, occupier of the throne of Selangor, at Bandar Termasa, do give declaration to Tengku Zia'u'd-din, son of the late Sultan Zain al-Rashid, who has become Our own son. We declare to all princes, nobles and subjects who live under Our government that We give up the country with its districts to Our son, Tengku Zia'u'd-din, to govern and to develope for Us and for Our sons, Raja Musa, Raja Kahar, and Raja Ya'akob, and for all the inhabitants of the country also, so that they may receive justice in all things. And Our son, Tengku Zia'u'd-din is empowered to do whatever may be effectual towards fostering Our country and causing profit to us. No person may oppose Our son's proceedings.

And now we confirm that this place, Langat, is a gift to Our son, Tengku Zia'u'd-din for his support while he carries on Our business as aforesaid. Such is Our proclamation."

The purport of this was that Zia'u'd-din was appointed Viceroy of the whole State and was given Langat for his own. Langat had always been the personal property of the donor, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad. The Sultan's sons, Ya'akob and Kahar, soon became jealous of their brother-in-law, and Raja Mahdi was already a believer in the rule that those should "take who have the power and those should keep who can." Even the To' Bandar at Langat defied the Viceroy's orders!

Tengku Zia'u'd-din was recalled to Kedah by his mother's illness. He left his wife, Tengku 'Arfah, at Langat. There, finding Klang an uneasy capital, the Sultan now joined his daughter. Worried by Raja Isma'il, son of the dispossessed Raja 'Abdu'llah of Klang, His Highness exhorted the importunate youth to attack Raja Mahdi, as they were both young and could fight it out. This advice, having buried his father at Ketapang, Raja Isma'il (1869) proceeded to follow, recruiting ex-pirate Ilanuns from Riau, fifty or sixty men from Buru, old adherents from Lukut, and Bugis from Kubu in Siak, and borrowing money and supplies from a Chinese merchant of Malacca. A cousin of his, Raja Sulaiman, deserted from Raja Mahdi and brought over a number of Batu Bahara men. Sailing from Malacca these forces surprised and took the stockade at Kuala Klang, with the loss of one man

slashed by his own brother who mistook him for an enemy as he was wriggling into the stockade through an embrasure. The guns of this stockade Raja Isma'il trained on a stockade across the river and on Raja Mahdi's schooner, the *Sri Lingga* that lay in the Klang estuary. Raja 'Abdu'llah bin 'Abbas, the commander of this second stockade, accepted a proposal of the Batu Bahara folk that he and the Selangor people should go upstream in the *Sri Lingga*, whereupon the Batu Bahara folk surrendered the stockade and went over to Raja Isma'il. Two months later Tengku Zia'u'd-din returned from Kedah, whence he had thought it desirable to bring 500 followers. Half these men he sent to Langat to guard his family; with the other half he set out to restore peace at Klang. When he arrived there, his authority as Viceroy was recognized by Isma'il but rejected by Mahdi. Zia'u'd-din reported Mahdi's recalcitrancy to the Sultan and sent for 200 more men from Langat. Raja Mahdi gave up nothing that he could hold and was spoiling for a fight with the Kedah interloper, but the Kedah interloper doggedly invested Mahdi's fort and stockades at Klang, shelled the defences daily under the supervision of a European, Mr. ? Fontaine (فونتين), stopped all supplies and ruined the tin trade with the interior until after some weary months his enemy was bankrupt of men, money and supplies. When rice rose to \$1 a *chupak*, a *sénohong* fish cost \$2, a coconut 30 or 40 cents, and a *chupak* of salt 25 to 30 cents, Raja Mahdi fled to Sungai Buloh leaving his adherents to suffer the last days of the siege, before they surrendered Klang. Many of the leaders of the Mandilings at Kuala Lumpur retreated to Perak, though some remained in the stockade at Bukit Nanas.

Klang now in place of Langat was given to the Viceroy, who ascended the river and took up his residence at the Fort there instead of returning to Langat where the Sultan with his sons Ya'akob and Kahar had settled. At Klang the Viceroy opened roads and fostered the mining industry and trade with the Colony, while warfare at the other estuaries had driven enough trade to Langat to keep 15 or 20 Malacca boats in the river at the same time. Raja Mahdi assisted Engku 'Abdu'r-Rahman, *de jure* Bendahara of Pahang in a campaign at Raub against Wan Ahmad's forces.

Kuala Selangor and its revenues had hitherto been in charge of the Sultan's only royal son (*anak gahara*), Raja Musa, a man of peace and religion, who was favourably to impress Sir Andrew Clarke. But it was no time for a raja of this disposition. In July 1870 the Sultan begged the Governor to assist his guards at the mouths of the Selangor, the Bernam and the Jeram rivers to prevent the import of rice, gunpowder and muskets for his enemies. That same month, Raja Mahdi, assisted by Raja Hitam of Bernam and Raja 'Ali of Jeram led a force of 200 men against

the (old Dutch) fort at Kuala Selangor, captured it, and proceeded to collect the revenue of that river-basin. Raja Musa complained to his father at Langat and was advised to seek the help of the Viceroy. The Penggawa of Selangor had already reported events to the Viceroy and begged for his assistance and for permission to go to Mecca.

Not merely did Raja Mahdi oppose the Viceroy in the field; he complained to the King of Siam about the encroachments in Selangor by the brother of Siam's vassal, the Sultan of Kedah. On 19 August 1870 the Sultan of Selangor informed the ruler of Kedah that any complaint Mahdi had made to Siam was baseless, but the complaints were taken seriously enough at Bangkok for the Sultan of Kedah to order his brother in May 1871 to go there and explain:—Zia'u'd-din asked for a letter vouching that Governor Ord had approved of his Viceregency and he asked for an interpreter so that he could appeal to the Siamese to let the Sultan of Kedah help him against his Selangor enemies. Meanwhile (25 August 1870) Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad reiterated to the world his trust in his son-in-law:—"We, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad, Yang di-pertuan of Selangor, announce to Tengku Sutan, Raja Layang, Tengku Raja, Raja Muhammad Yusuf, Raja Perempuan, Raja Budul, Sutan Maharaja Leha, Sutan Jenaga, Sutan Besar, Mantri Gedong, To' Maharaja, To' Stia Raja, To' Maharaja Sudali, Haji Muhammad Salleh, Imam Prang Puriok, Imam Prang Malim, that we have granted our son Tengku Kudin this letter under our seal, and he has undertaken to vanquish the Mandilings and their allies. Now, therefore, the above will obey our son who is also appointed leader of all foreigners, and whosoever does not obey his orders will be treated as a rebel according to the law. All Chinese and Malays engaged in commerce in the interior shall assist Tengku Kudin and his adherents with gunpowder and weapons. No Towkay shall assist the Mandiling people and if by Allah's grace the disturbances are settled, the possessions of the Mandilings shall be divided among such of the aforesaid as assist Tengku Kudin." Engku 'Abdu'r-Rahman, *de jure* Bendahara of Pahang, deserted Raja Mahdi and joined the Viceroy, who put him in charge of Ulu Selangor.

Still Raja Mahdi showed fight. On 11 November, Sayid Zin, the Viceroy's agent, reported to the British government that Mr. Bacon a Penang Eurasian (who fished also in the troubled waters of Perak) had been paid \$30,000 to assist Raja Mahdi with innumerable boat-loads of rice, muskets and gunpowder.

Taking Sayid Mashhor a famous Arab warrior from Pontianak as his captain, the Viceroy accompanied by two of the Sultan's sons Musa and Ya'akob, set out to attack Raja Mahdi at Kuala Selangor. Unluckily, at this juncture Sayid Mashhor's brother, 'Abdu'llah, was murdered at Langat, and accusing the Sultan and

Raja Ya'akob of instigating the murder, Sayid Mashhor deserted to Raja Mahdi—a momentous incident in these domestic wars. Having no quarrel with Raja Musa, the Sayid may have refused to attack him; anyhow Raja Musa was left alone at Kuala Selangor, its titular chief but virtually a prisoner.

In 1871 Chinese pirates, alleged to have issued from Kuala Selangor, plundered a junk and killed 34 persons, including women and children, in the Straits of Malacca. On 3 July *H.M.S. Rinaldo* and the Colonial steamer *Pluto* arrived at Kuala Selangor with a letter to Raja Musa demanding the arrest of the pirates. Raja Musa was away and Sayid Mashhor, who was guarding the fort on his behalf, sent a curt message that he was not empowered to deal with the matter. Two parties then landed from the *Pluto*, Lieutenant Stopford and Mr. A. M. Skinner, of the Civil Service, visited the fort, whose gate Sayid Mashhor shut in their faces. Lieutenant Maude and some blue-jackets went ashore on the opposite bank to search the villages. Maude met a Raja, understood to be Mahdi or Mahmud, who shook hands with the Lieutenant but refused to embark in his boat. Maude insisted. The Raja's followers opened fire, killing one blue-jacket and wounding Maude and five of his men. The *Pluto* steamed away with the wounded to Penang, as even the *Rinaldo* was carrying no surgeon. A cable to the Admiralty explained that Malay pirates had "acted with their usual treachery!" On 4 July the *Rinaldo* shelled the Kuala Selangor fort, smashing its *sena* trees and driving Sayid Mashhor and his garrison into the jungle. A Malay girl is said to have had her throat cut and her blood sprinkled on the guns the garrison was forced to abandon—probably that her vengeful spirit might injure the victors. So runs the British account of this episode of July 3 and 4. Raja Mahdi gave a slightly different version:—
 Raja Musa and Raja Bot asked me to live at Selangor. Sayid Mashhor invited me to live at the fort on the hill and showed a letter from the Sultan authorizing him to govern Selangor. So I lived there. On 8 Rabi'al-akhir 1288 (27 June 1871) the English came and with the help of Raja Mahmud arrested a Chinese. More Chinese came up and the English pursued them to the house of Tengku Panglima Raja. Women screamed and there was a great noise. The garrison seized their weapons. The English ran to their boats. No Malays molested them. I was sick but I heard of it all. The English did not act in accordance with the Treaty and had no letter from Governor or Sultan. While I was searching for the Chinese pirates to send to Penang, the English came and arrested Sayid Mashhor and tried to arrest Raja Mahmud and me, seizing me by the sleeves. My man knocked down one of my captors with his feet. The English fired, killed four of my men and wounded five. Then the English bombarded the fort. Men were killed, women wounded, property burnt. My enemy, Tengku Kudin, came. I lost \$25,000 in the bombardment and am

in the jungle without food for my women and children." Raja Mahdi fled to Bernam and thence to Sumatra and Johor; Raja Mahmud retired to Ulu Selangor and thence to Kuala Lumpor and so to Sungai Ujong; Raja Musa removed to Klang and lived with the Viceroy; Sayid Mashhor went to Bendahara Isma'il of Perak but by November was back in the field and had captured Engku 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Pahang.

A fortnight after this incident, a mission from Singapore under the Colonial Secretary, James Wheeler Woodford Birch, visited Kuala Selangor and found it quiet, though Raja Mahmud was reported to be in the neighbourhood. On 22 July Mr. Birch had an interview with that "rather careless philosopher" the Sultan, who cordially agreed that Raja Mahdi, Sayid Mashhor and Raja Mahmud were evil persons and the ruin of the country; his men would help to arrest them—if they could be found! The Sultan was asked to confirm the genuineness of the document of 1868 conferring viceregal powers on Zia'u'd-din. There was palace opposition—and apparently with justice, as Klang had been given to the Viceroy instead of Langat. But Mr. Birch never listened to explanations, the mere fact that a course seemed good to him made it in his eyes absolutely good, beyond criticism by intelligent beings. The "careless philosopher" suggested conferring his powers on a council composed of Raja Zia'u'd-din and Raja Bot and Raja Yahya of Lukut. This was not approved. So the Sultan "renewed" the already partly obsolete document of 1868. It was all one to this gentle disillusioned potentate, so long as he could preserve in Swettenham's phrase his "*opium cum dignitate*"; he was reputed to have killed ninety-nine men with his own hands and was tired and took no interest now in public affairs, happy in gardening and hoarding tin. The British announced their support of the Viceroy, which heartened Malacca merchants to invest money in the country.

After *H.M.S. Rinaldo* had shelled his enemies out of Kuala Selangor, the Viceroy garrisoned the place with 100 Sikhs under a European officer, Pennefather, and some 30 or 40 of his Kedah followers. On 10 September (1871) the Viceroy arrived at Kuala Selangor and found Raja Musa had built a fort there at Permatang to protect himself against Raja Mahdi and his associates Sayid Mashhor and Raja Mahmud. The Viceroy offered Musa authority to collect all the revenue on the Selangor river, only stipulating that he should defray the expense of local administration. Raja Musa retorted that his father had given Kuala Selangor into his charge and that the Viceroy ought to repair the damage of a bombardment, for which he was responsible, and pay compensation for all losses consequent on that bombardment. The Viceroy wrote to the Governor that, though he hoped to avoid force, he might be obliged to replace Raja Musa by his more vigorous and competent

brother Raja Ya'akob, and would be glad if the Governor could send an officer to arrange matters between himself and the Selangor Rajas, so that there might be no more disturbances. On 20 November Pennefather reported to the Viceroy that Raja Musa was appropriating to his own use all the export duty on tin. The Viceroy got the Sultan to supersede Musa and depute Musa's half-brother Ya'akob to administer Kuala Selangor on the terms the Viceroy had vainly offered to Musa. But after two or three months Ya'akob returned to the Sultan, pretending he had been recalled but actually intolerant of the presence of the Viceroy's followers. Once more Raja Esa bin Raja Haji one of the followers of Raja Mahdi besieged Kuala Selangor, killing many Sikhs and one white sergeant, a convert to Islam. Again Raja Mahdi restored Raja Musa.

In 1872 Mr. Irving, the Auditor-General, was reporting that on 1 April the Viceroy had reoccupied the fort at Kuala Selangor and had got the three forts on the Klang. But his enemies occupied the hinterland, securing to themselves communication down the Bernam and Langat rivers whence they could export tin and import supplies. The blockading of the estuaries to cut off his enemies' supplies caused the Viceroy to become unpopular with merchants who had made advances against the delivery of tin. There were 12,000 Chinese miners in the valley of the Klang and the output of tin from that river had doubled under the Viceroy's administration and now reached 3,000 pikuls a month.

Meanwhile Raja Mahdi collected at Bengkalis in Sumatra a fleet of four vessels with money and munitions and boasted that the Maharaja of Johor had made him a present of a white ship. At the instance of Sayid Zin, the Viceroy's most trusted agent, the British got the Dutch to seize this armada, whereupon Raja Mahdi invoked the support of Singapore lawyers who considered that we "should not interfere with legitimate warlike operations carried on without prejudice to the interest of neutrals." The Attorney-General, Thomas Braddell apparently disapproved of a Kedah interloper in Selangor as he was later to disapprove of the distaff title of Sultan Isma'il to the throne of Perak. Moreover he relied on the word of the Maharaja of Johor that Raja Mahdi had no hostile intentions against Selangor! Others were less credulous. The Auditor-General, Mr. Irving, weighed Raja Mahdi and found him "little better than a treacherous lying savage," adding "I would trust Raja Mahdi just as far as I could control him and not a step further." For the moment Governor Ord listened to the Maharaja and Mr. Braddell.

With the assistance of the Maharaja, Ord tried in May 1872 to persuade Raja Mahdi to accept a pension of \$350 a month from the Viceroy on condition that he would live quietly in Johor. When the mirror of Selangor chivalry or piracy (according to the

point of view) indignantly refused to sell his claim to Klang, the Governor ceased to believe in the pacifism of his intentions and expressed no surprise when in July (1872) Raja Mahdi gave the slip to the Maharaja of Johor and vanished, once more to add fuel to the fire of the Selangor imbroglio. The Maharaja's inveterate critic, Mr. William Henry Read, declared in the Legislative Council that the Maharaja's support of the Viceroy was pretence. Would the Maharaja help to victory the brother-in-law of the daughter of Sultan 'Ali of Muar? Certainly the Maharaja suggested the supersession of the Viceroy and the transfer of his powers to Raja Musa, the Sultan's best-born and amiable son.

The Viceroy reported to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad that with Sayid Mashhor pressing him at Klang and Raja Mahmud at Pataling, he could take no action at Kuala Selangor, though it was a source of supplies for his enemies. On 18 June 1872 he complained to the Governor that Raja Musa and now Sayid Mashhor received arms, provisions and money from merchants in the Colony; Mr. McAlister had told Sayid Zin that Raja Mahdi was buying *s.s. Argyle* to take to Klang; could not His Excellency publish Act 10 of 1839 notifying the public that it was unlawful to help the enemies of the Sultan's Viceroy? On 17 July Raja Mahmud, along with Raja Laut, Raja Berkat, Raja Indut and a Chinese headman Teoh Ah Chong, led 300 men, collected at Lukut and Langat, to attack Batu and Gombak; those villages were burnt, four Chinese killed and 18 wounded. In spite of these worries the Viceroy was in that month helping 'Ali bin Majid, Ferdana Mantri of Johor, to capture four Malay pirates, sending a monkey to Lady Ord and trying to get her an argus-pheasant.

Having vanished from Johor, Raja Mahdi moved with the swiftness of the guerilla leader he was. On July 21 the Tengku Laksamana of Sungai Ujong, son of the Kiana, reported that Raja Mahdi and his followers had already ascended the Linggi river in five sampans—meeting Raja Laut, Raja Mahmud and other of his adherents sheltered by the Dato' Bandar. The attitude of the Maharaja of Johor and of the Attorney-General Thomas Braddell gave rise to a rumour that the British had declared against the Viceroy and were detaining him in Singapore; and this induced Raja Asal, one of his principal supporters, to desert to Raja Mahdi, and on 21 July to sit down to invest his whilom chief's fort at Kuala Lumpor. In the midst of these alarms, on 21 August, 1872, the Colonial Secretary, Singapore, informed the Chamber of Commerce that "it is the policy of Her Majesty's Government not to interfere in the affairs of the Malay States unless where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories; and that if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they

are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is impossible for Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property." Clearly the Viceroy had to look elsewhere than to Singapore for effective aid and he had turned with the full approval of Governor Ord to Wan Ahmad, the guerilla warrior who had seized the throne of Pahang and was disposed to tolerate neither the captivity of his relative and former foe Engku 'Abdu'r-Rahman nor raids from Selangor by the Rawa mercenaries of the Maharaja of Johor. The Viceroy also persuaded the Dato' of Rembau to claim Sempang on the Linggi river and give it to him so that he might deprive his enemies of supplies from that channel.

Things still looked black for the Viceroy. Sayid Mashhor with Rawa and Mandiling forces had cut off from the coast and all supplies the Kuala Lumpur garrison, consisting of two European officers, van Hagen and Cavalleri, and more than 80 sepoys. The Viceroy held only Klang. But now Wan Ahmad marched 1,000 men into Selangor, supported by reserves under the Maharaja Purba Jelai and other chiefs, took Kepong and sent word to van Hagen to cut his way out and join him. Perhaps van Hagen distrusted this new ally. Anyhow he decided to head for the coast. Once a Chinese woodcutter misled the little force, which still contrived to get back to Kuala Lumpur. The second time the garrison tried to retreat to Damar Sara, the next post on the Klang river, but were led by their guide into an ambush at Petaling and cut to pieces by Raja Mahdi. Mr. Wilkinson has described what followed:—"

"There was a sharp engagement between the two forces; Cavalleri, the second in command, was killed along with some 20 sepoys; Hagen and some forty more were taken prisoners and lodged in the fort; thirty fugitives seem to have succeeded in making their way by devious paths to the coast. The fate of the prisoners was tragic. The head of the fallen Cavalleri was cut off and carried in triumph to the fort to be shown to the unfortunate Hagen as an earnest of the fate in store for him. Hagen was slaughtered publicly as a beast is slaughtered, the throat being cut and the victim left to bleed to death, this kind of execution being selected because of its ignominious animal character. The heads of Hagen and Cavalleri were then borne round the town of Kuala Lumpur in triumph to the sound of the beating of gongs and finally were stuck over the gates of the fort. The other prisoners also were slaughtered probably in the same way. Altogether 2 European officers, 8 European or Eurasian non-commissioned officers, and 56 native sepoys perished at Kuala Lumpur, or (counting the losses at Kuala Selangor) 119 men in all. After the victory the Malay

leader sent triumphant letters to his friends to describe the pleasure it gave him to treat Europeans in the way he had treated Hagen."

Not long after this, treachery enabled Sayid Mashhor to take the fort at Kuala Selangor, when one European and 52 sepoys fell. The Viceroy had now lost every post except two on the Klang river, namely Kuala Klang and Pangkalan Batu, with some lesser posts at Damar Sara and other spots between Damar Sara and Pangkalan Batu. No wonder that on 1 November Governor Ord ascending the Langat river in the armed boats of *H.M.S. Zebra* suggested to him that, though the British would support him to the end, perhaps he had better throw up the sponge! The Viceroy replied that, though anxious always to accept British advice, he would prefer to persevere.

The Viceroy was right. Already in spite of losses from smallpox and dysentery the Pahang forces were threatening Kuala Lumpur. On 18 November they captured Pataling, finding there a letter from that dispassionate hedonist, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad, instructing the To' Engku Klang to assist Raja Mahdi against the Viceroy! By March 1873 the Viceroy had retaken Kuala Lumpur, Wan Ahmad sent 500 Pahang men by sea to Kuala Selangor under Imam Prang Mahkota Raja and land forces under Sri Indra Gajah alias To' Gajah. On 9 July 1873 the Viceroy thanked the Governor for sending him a young European officer, adding that the Pahang forces should soon end the war. He now informed the Sultan that he proposed to attack Kuala Selangor and begged His Highness to recall Raja Musa from that district. The Sultan replied evasively that his son was obstinate and disobedient, but the Viceroy's messenger was warned at court to go quickly, before he should be killed, and was assured that his master would get a warm reception at Kuala Selangor. However on 8 November Kuala Selangor fell, Raja Musa escaping to Langat, whence finding his father as usual unsympathetic with failure he fled to Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah in Perak, only returning to Langat in February 1874 to meet the Governor. Sayid Mashhor fled to Batang Berjuntai. In November too, Pahang forces defeated Raja Asal at Ulu Yam and took Kuala Kubu, later encountering Sayid Mashhor and driving him into Perak. This was the end of open warfare. The Viceroy was now master of the whole country, though in the Sultan's sons Ya'akob and Kahar he had enemies and though the outlawry of Raja Mahdi, Raja Mahmud and Sayid Mashhor was hardly worth a scrap of paper.

Meanwhile forces almost as potent as these domestic broils were at work to bring Selangor under British protection. On 25 June 1873 a London company wrote to the Secretary of State that Mr. J. G. Davidson had a large tin concession in Selangor and would like to float a company: would the British protect

that state or allow the company to keep an armed force? Lord Kimberley negatived both of these proposals. At this very time Governor Ord reported to Kimberley that 248 Straits Chinese merchants were complaining of anarchy and obstructions to commerce in the Malay States; and His Excellency added that, outside Johor, it was only in the States dependent on Siam that peace was preserved. In November Mr. Seymour Clarke, a City merchant interested in Davidson's concession, was claiming that Tengku Zia'u'd-din, the Viceroy, had power to grant a concession dated 8 March 1873 to Count Charles Frederick Theodore Marie Maur de Seloes of Ngadirojo in Java and James Guthrie Davidson of Singapore to form a company with capital of at least £100,000 and licence and authority for ten years to mine for tin in Selangor, Klang and Bernam, on payment to the Viceroy of 5 per cent. of the gross produce and of \$3 on every *bahara* (312 *katis*) of tin exported. Kimberley called for an early report on this claim. Anxious though it was for peace and order to prevail, Her Majesty's government was not yet "prepared to undertake any special responsibilities for the safety and property of British subjects" in the Malay States. An event was now to happen that forced its hand.

On 7 November 1873 a vessel registered at Malacca was sailing home from Langat with three Chinese passengers, a crew of six Malays from the Colony and a sum of \$2,000 in cash. At 2 p.m. it anchored at the estuary to await the night breeze; at 5 p.m. it was boarded by pirates disguised as fishermen, who proceeded to shoot down and stab all its occupants except one, who swam off in the dark to a Bugis trading vessel. This piracy and murders were perpetrated within hail of a fort occupied by the Sultan's third son, Raja Ya'akob, and, as it appeared, were done by his followers, and for his benefit. The nine murderers were so indiscreet as to visit Malacca where they were arrested—one securing his release by turning "King's evidence." This was the worst of many sea episodes, encouraged by Selangor chiefs and even by the Sultan who gave "passes" indiscriminately to gun-runners whom the Viceroy had to seize in self-defence, thus becoming technically a pirate! On Christmas Day, 1873, Malay pirates disguised as Chinese boarded a Malacca *sékochi*, stealing coconuts, poultry and weapons, but the crew jumped overboard and swam to safety. On 11 January 1874 a boat belonging to Raja Mahmud attacked the lighthouse which Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad had allowed in August 1872 to be built at Cape Rachado!

So, at the beginning of February 1874 the new Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, took advantage of the appearance in Malayan waters of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Shadwell, Commander-in-chief of the China Station, to request him to assist by the presence of his squadron in negotiations with the Sultan of Selangor for the trial in that State of eight of the murderers of the Malacca subjects

on 7 November 1873. It was feared that uncertainty as to the place of the crime, whether on the high sea or in Selangor waters, might lead to acquittal in a British court, and that punishment in British territory would have little deterrent effect in Selangor. On 8 February the *Pluto* was hauled alongside the Sultan's palace where the Jugra river branches off from the Langat, and a very timid and reluctant ruler, accompanied by many armed attendants, came aboard, to be surprised and delighted at his reception. The next day the Governor returned the call, being welcomed by the Sultan and his sons Kahar and Ya'akob, the Dato' Aru, Penggawa Permatang, Penggawa Muda, Panglima Besar, Orang Kaya Kechil, Penghulu of Jeram and Penghulu Dagang. So far from being a feeble worn-out opium-smoker, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad proved to be "an elderly gentleman of 55 or 60 years of age, having his senses perfectly about him and quite able to manage his affairs if he were not indolent. A rather careless philosopher, who showed his character by saying 'Piracy is the affair of the boys, my sons. I have nothing to do with it.'" His hoard of tin was said to be worth \$100,000. His Highness readily agreed to the trial of the murdering pirates by a court composed of the Viceroy, Dato' Aru, the Penghulu Dagang and See Ah Keng, the Chinese headman at Langat, with the Colonial Engineer Major McNair and the Viceroy's legal friend, Mr. J. G. Davidson as commissioners. On the 15th this court sitting in the stockade at Kuala Jugra condemned seven of the prisoners to be speared and creased, the eighth being reprieved on account of his youth. It found no evidence to connect Raja Ya'akob with the crime! The next morning at 11 o'clock the sentence was carried out with a creese sent overnight by the Sultan.

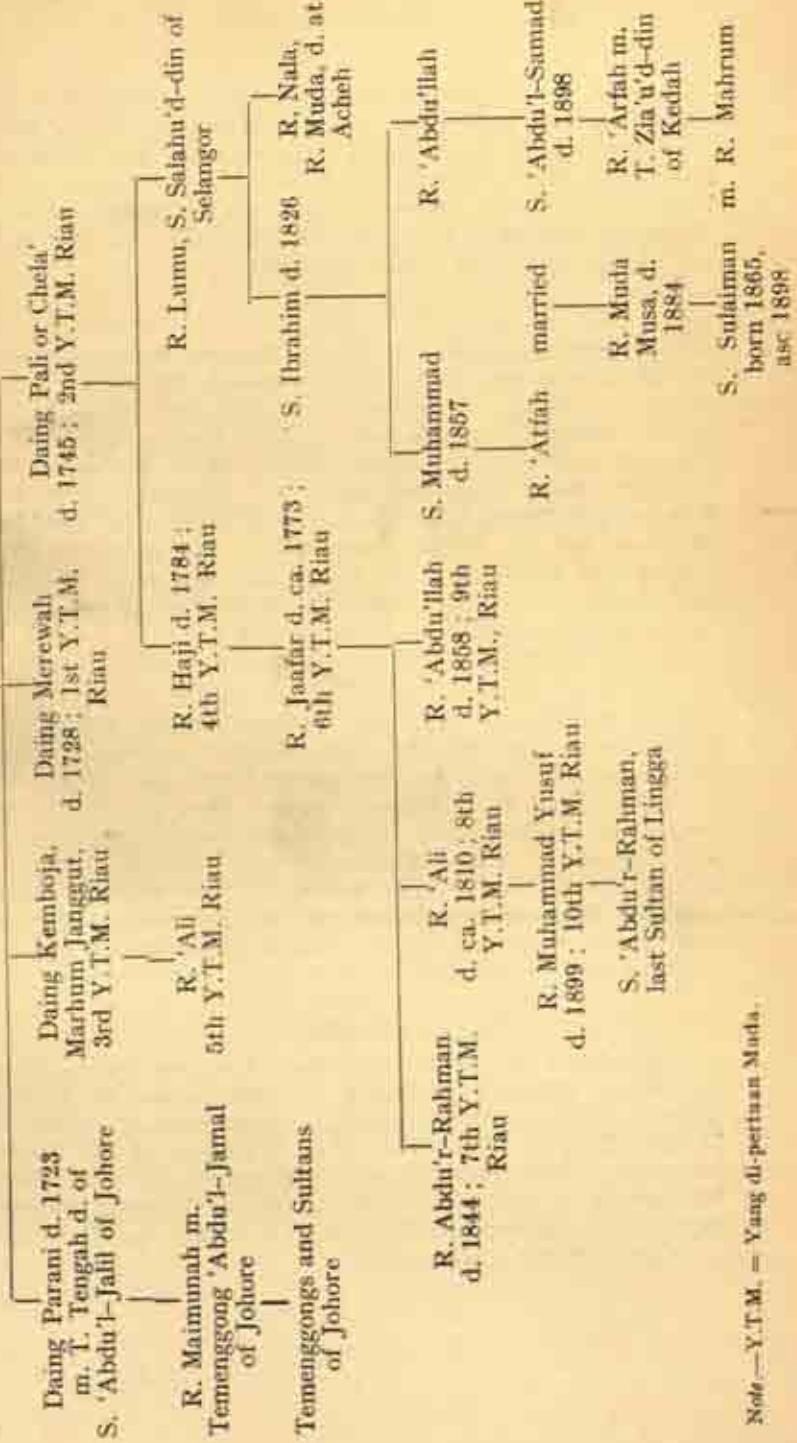
Next "upon the requisition of the Sultan" the stockades on both sides of the river were burnt down and the guns destroyed. The commissioners fixed the damage for the outrage committed on British subjects at \$5,000, which the Sultan at once paid in tin. In their report they remarked that all the Selangor Rajas and chiefs expressed a strong desire to have a British officer resident among them to advise and assist in the government of the country, and that they had heard Tengku Zia'u'd-din had applied for one. Already in a despatch dated 20 September 1873 Lord Kimberley had desired Sir Andrew Clarke "especially to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the states": His Lordship enclosed correspondence with Mr. Seymour Clarke to show that Tengku Zia'u'd-din desired help from Great Britain, or failing her, from some other European power in order to end the troubles in Selangor. But pending decision by the new Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, on 27 June 1874 the Governor was still limiting "intervention, as far as Selangor is concerned, to the cultivation of personal friendly relations with the Sultan and his chiefs, so as to render easy and

acceptable that more active supervision which, sooner or later, must be exercised over them, being not alone requisite to secure and consolidate what has been already accomplished, but also imperatively necessary to guard against a relapse into old customs and practices." Immediate interference was desirable but Sir Andrew Clarke hesitated to initiate on his own part, preferring rather to see it, as he anticipated "the result of the free and unanimous choice of all the chiefs themselves." In July 'Abdu'l-Samad was asking the Governor to fix a scale of duties on imports into Selangor from the Colony and also an allowance for Penghulu Dagang who was responsible for the inspection of immigrants from the Colony. At a meeting of the Legislative Council on 15 September Sir Andrew Clarke announced that he had left at Langat a young civilian, Mr. (now Sir) Frank Swettenham to give informal advice and that the Sultan had written: "We are very much obliged to our friend for the officer whom our friend has chosen. He is very clever; he is also very clever in the customs of Malay government and he is very clever at gaining the hearts of Rajas with soft words delicate and sweet, so that all men rejoice in him as in the perfume of an opened flower." Nor did the royal gardener limit his satisfaction to compliments: unsolicited, he proffered \$1,000 a month in payment of Mr. Swettenham's salary and expenses. Furthermore the Sultan banished Raja Mahdi and agreed that, if there were war in Sungai Ujong, he would support the Dato' Klan. On 30 December the Governor informed the Earl of Carnarvon, that though entirely satisfied with Mr. Swettenham, he had found the appointment of a Resident necessary, in order to restore confidence and attract capital. For this office he had chosen a Writer to the Signet, Mr. J. G. Davidson, who for three years had been the Viceroy's unofficial adviser, frequently accompanying him in the field and assisting him very freely with funds. Mr. Davidson had transferred his business interests in Selangor to a mercantile house and enjoyed the confidence of Europeans and Malays. Mr. Swettenham, a young and energetic officer of very high promise and great tact, was to remain at Langat as Assistant Resident. Raja Mahmud now surrendered and loyally served Mr. Swettenham through the Perak troubles and later Mr. High Clifford in Pahang. Sayid Mashhor also served the British in Perak. Raja Mahdi refused to accept a pension to live in Johor and still demanded Klang, fomenting disturbances that at the end of 1875 led to his detention in the civil prison at Singapore: his death from tuberculosis removed the last of the old-world disturbers of Selangor's peace. One item in Selangor's earliest budget was \$300,000 owing by the Viceroy to a Malacca Chinese merchant for munitions of war. Also the Bendahara of Pahang had to be paid.

Henceforth the *pax Britannica* brought contentment and prosperity to Selangor and gave its people footballs in place of creese and cannon.

GENEALOGY OF SULTANS OF SELANGOR.

Upu Tembilong Daing of Lakku



Note.—Y.T.M. = Yang di-pertuan Muda.

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NEGRI SEMBILAN

The History, Polity and Beliefs of the
Nine States

BY

R. O. WINSTEDT C.M.G., D.LITT. (Oxon).

General Adviser, Johore.

PART I.

HISTORY

OF

NEGRI SEMBILAN

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THE NINE STATES.

Negri Sembilan, or the Nine States, is a confederacy unknown to the Portuguese d'Eredia in 1613, to the author of the *Malay Annals* in 1612 and to the Dutch merchants in their *Daghregister* or daily journal, which has been printed down to 1682. The original confederacy must have been created after the coming of Raja Melewar, founder of the present royal house, in 1773 A.D. What States originally formed the Nine is uncertain. Was it ever a confederacy or even a congeries except in name? The usual list is: Klang, Sungai Ujong, Naning, Rembau, Jelai, Ulu Pahang, Jelebu, Johol and Segamat. That list gives the States in the order in which they occur in history as more than place names, though it is not the list of any confederacy. All these places had Minangkabau settlers, but Naning was always vassal to the owners of Malacca. Klang was subject first to the Malay Sultans of Malacca and Johor and then became Bugis. Segamat was always a fief of those same Malay Sultans. Ulu Pahang and Jelai always subject to the rulers of Pahang. There may have been *imperium in imperio*, Minangkabau settlers in places subject to other than Minangkabau rule yet accepting a Yam-tuan of their own race as arbiter of quarrels between themselves. But if there was a real confederacy, it was that extant to-day and its constituent states were Sungai Ujong, Rembau, Jelebu, Johol, Ulu Muar, Inas, Gunong Pasir, Terachi and Jempui. Mostly the settlers were agriculturists, but it must have been their experience of gold-mining in Sumatra that led a few of them as far afield as Jelai in Pahang.

FROM THE FOURTEENTH TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

There was a settlement on the Klang river in the middle of the XIVth century. It is mentioned as subject to Majapahit along with Pahang, Ujong Medini, Langkasuka, Kelantan, Trengganu, Dungun, Muar, Tumasik (Singapore), Sang Hyang Ujong, Kedah and Jerai in the Javanese poem, *Nagarakrtagama*, composed by a Buddhist courtier Prapanchna in honour of Hayam Wuruk, the famous conqueror of ancient Singapore.

The next reference to it is in the *Malay Annals*. In the reign of Muzaffar Shah, ruler of Malacca from about 1445 to 1458, the people of Klang deposed an unnamed chief (*penghulu*) and asked Malacca to appoint another. Sultan Muzaffar appointed a member of the Bendahara family, Tun Perak, who holding no court office had married and settled at Klang. When the Siamese attacked Malacca and Muzaffar Shah called up all his fighting men, Tun Perak brought not only the men but their families to Malacca, explaining that men fight even more fiercely for their women and children than for their rulers. Struck with this, the Sultan made him a herald at court and detained him at Malacca where in time he rose to be Bendahara. In the time of 'Ala'u'd-din, first Sultan of Johor, the chief of Klang was entitled Mandulika; perhaps this, a title appearing on the 14th century Trengganu stone, had always been the style of the Penghulu of Klang.

Sang Hyang Ujong of Majapahit days appears in the *Malay Annals* as Sening Ujong and in Negri Sembilan folklore as Semujong, finally being corrupted to Sungai Ujong. Before the time of Mansur Shah, Sultan of Malacca, who reigned from about 1458 until October 1477, Sang Hyang Ujong had belonged to two Malacca chiefs, namely to the Bendahara Paduka Raja, Tun Perak, once chief of Klang, and to the Sri Nara 'diraja, Tun 'Ali, brother-in-law of Sultan Muhammad Shah (1424-46), and husband of Tun Perak's sister Tun Kudu, whom Sultan Muzaffar (1445-1458) had divorced to give him. The partition of the fief may have followed the retirement of the half-caste Sri Nara 'diraja from the great office of Bendahara in favour of the Malay Tun Perak. Anyhow a Penghulu at Sang Hyang Ujong named Tun Tuakal (or probably Tawakal "Submissive to God's Will") offended Sultan Mansur Shah, who had him executed and bestowed the undivided fief solely on Sri Nara 'diraja. Tun Tuakal has survived in Sungai Ujong folklore as Tun Tukul "Mr. Hammer" and has been provided with a mythical brother, Tun Landas "Mr. Anyil," the two of them being credited with having used their instruments to circumcise the impervious Batin Iron-Claws, an aboriginal chief of Sungai Ujong!

There is an interesting Malacca survival in Negri Sembilan custom. The *waris* or heirs of territorial titles generally belong to a few privileged families inside a tribe unknown in Sumatra, termed the Biduanda tribe. These *waris*, as we now know, were members of the noble family of the Bendaharas of old Malacca. But who were their often backward and simple associates, the Biduanda? Biduanda was a polite term at the old Malacca court for protected persons who were either not Muslims or were recent converts to Islam. The early Chinese settlers on Bukit China were called in the *Malay Annals* Biduanda China. The name still survives in Negri Sembilan for a band of Jakun, that is of Proto-Malay heathens. In Rembau the office of territorial chief or Undang rotates between privileged families (*waris*) in the Biduanda Jawa and the Biduanda Jakun, and a typical bit of Sumatran folklore ascribes the inclusion of Javanese and Proto-Malays in the Biduanda tribe to miscegenation on the part of descendants of the Bendahara Sekudai! Actually the nomenclature must mean exactly what it says. The old Malay empire of Malacca recognized certain early "Javanese" (a term then including Sumatrans) and Proto-Malay converts to Islam in Rembau and termed both Biduanda: later Minangkabau influence turned them all into a tribe, the Biduanda tribe. As might be expected, Rembau has the biggest number of Biduanda of any of the States, because it borders on Malacca and it was there that Malacca's trade first attracted early settlers, dealers in tin and jungle produce: moreover, unlike Naning, it was far enough away not to have to discard all relics of old Malay sovereignty after the Portuguese conquest. A few colonists went further afield. In Sungai Ujong and Jelebu, the tin districts, Biduanda predominate, because it was tin above all that led adventurous Malaccans up the jungle-lined rivers and those adventurers' descendants saw to it that the later Minangkabau immigrants got only agricultural land and did not usurp the tin-fields. Not till about 1820 did the Biduanda tribe of Jelebu adopt exogamy, splitting into two for that purpose and allowing one of the divisions to adopt the fictitious name of a Minangkabau tribe! Again in Johol the Minangkabau predominance of Four Tribes has never obtained; the Biduanda tribe outnumbers the other three tribes together and in it the Mimangkabau rule of exogamy does not prevail. In Johol when a Proto-Malay becomes Muslim, he becomes a member of the Biduanda tribe, while, at the election of an Undang or even of a Minangkabau tribal headman, the Batin or chief of the heathen Proto-Malays for the district attends and has his say. As a fossicker for tin and gold the Proto-Malay must have been valuable in old Johol.

For not only did Klang, Sungai Ujong, Naning and Rembau exist in Portuguese times; d'Eredia's map shows also Johol and Jempul as place-names. Who were the inhabitants of these places other than aborigines is uncertain. Undoubtedly Klang and

Sungai Ujong owed their early comparative importance to the existence of tin-fields. d'Eredia records that the yearly output of tin from Klang was more than one hundred *bales* and from Penagi (now called Penajis) more than one hundred. "The earth is dug out of the mountains and placed on certain tables, where the earth is dispersed by water in such a way that only the tin, in the form of grains, remains on the tables: it is then melted in certain clay moulds and by a process of casting is converted into large slabs which are called 'lock slabs' of two hundred and fifty slabs to the bar." That there was tin-mining at Kenaboi in Jelebu even in the neolithic and bronze ages is known from the discovery there of tiny socketted bronze axe-heads, stone discoidal circlets, small clay crucibles and a stone cross-hatched bark-cloth pounder. At Klang too there have been found a bronze bell-like article and three iron tools of a type common in prehistoric sites in Malaya.

When did the Minangkabau colonists reach Malacca's hinterland? At Pengkalan Kempas in the Sungai Ujong territory, among a number of megaliths of Sumatran type, is a stone carved with inscriptions both in Arabic and in Sumatran Malay (in old-Javanese characters derived from the Adityawarman inscriptions of the Minangkabau or Padang Highlands, Sumatra). The date in both inscriptions corresponds to 1467 A.D. and the Arabic inscription records that it was the time of Sultan Mansur Shah. It marks the grave of one Ahmad, called Majanu and Shaikh, who according to the Sumatran inscription came downstream to play a dirty trick and was defeated, caught and died a low death (presumably at the hands of the executioner), while according to the Arabic inscription the grave is a mansion of peace, a place of goodness, and the peace and help of God are invoked for its occupant. There is one doubtful word followed by a puzzling title in the Sumatran inscription: ? *nakanak* Tun barah kalang katangkap. One ingenious commentator finds in *Tun barah kalang* the Indo-Chinese title *Pra-Klang*, though why a stone apparently erected by Sumatran Malays should use a composite title half Malay half Siamese is inexplicable. Can it be *Tun Perak Kalang* to whom the inscription refers as the contemporary Raja? Just as aboriginal folklore has turned Tun Tuukal into Tun Tukul, so its "Batin Merah Galang" seems to represent "Tun Perak Kalang" and corroborate the interpretation of this stone. The fact that the inscribed stone is surrounded by megaliths of Minangkabau type suggests that Shaikh Ahmat or his followers were early Minangkabau immigrants. Minangkabau gold was famous and Correa and d'Albuquerque speak of it being brought to Malacca to exchange for Coromandel stuffs.

By the XVth century A.D. the immigration of Sumatran agriculturists had become large as Portuguese historians confirm. As early as 1586 the Minangkabaus behind Malacca abandoned their friendly relations with the Portuguese and took the side of the Sultan of Johor in an attack on Malacca, devastating the

country-side and cutting off supplies. So numerous and formidable they were that an expedition of one hundred Portuguese and six hundred natives, mostly equipped with fire-arms, took the field, found the Minangkabaus 2,000 strong drove them out of their village and set fire to it. The Portuguese marched to Rembau, which a Johor captain had fortified; but before their arrival he had fled. The villagers of Rembau pleaded innocence and were spared.

Again. Writing in 1613 Godinho d'Eredia speaks of most of the inland country as "uninhabited and deserted except in the district of Nany" (Naning)* "which is occupied by Monancabos engaged in the trade of *betre*" (betel) "an aromatic plant which is chewed with a mixture of chalk and areca in order to tone the stomach. These Monancabos with their stocks of *betre* come down from Nany to the Pangkalan whence they proceed by boat to the market-place at Malacca." d'Eredia terms these Naning Minangkabaus vassals of Portugal. Like Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Klang, the little State of Naning had been part of the Malay kingdom of Malacca before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1511, though it is unknown who were then its inhabitants: if in 1586 it could muster 2,000 Minangkabau fighting-men (and it required 700 trained soldiers to subdue it), then Naning must have had settlers from Sumatra for at least a century and probably far longer. In 1613 d'Eredia records that "past Nany one proceeds to Rombo, head of the Malay villages in a territory which belongs to the Crown of Johor; Rombo also is peopled by Monancabos." In 1634 Barretto de Resende wrote, evidently of Naning: "Inland the land" (that is, Malacca) "borders on that of the Manamcabos, Moors of a land called Rindo" (? Lindu or Rembau), "vassals of the King of Pam" (namely Pahang), "and close by live five or six thousands of the same Manamcabo Moors, vassals of His Majesty" the King of Portugal, "under the government of a Portuguese married man of Malacca called Tamungam," or Temenggong, "an office conferred by the Viceroy. To him they owe obedience and should one of these Moors die without heirs, the said Tamungam inherits his property, and if there are heirs he makes an agreement with them and receives ten per cent, upon such goods as he thinks fit. At the present day a Portuguese holds the office for life. These Moors cultivate extensive land by which they maintain themselves. They especially cultivate the betre. They purchase tin from the inhabitants of the interior and bring it to Malacca." In his report, dated 7 September 1641, to the Council of India on the past and present condition of Malacca Schouten tells us more: "For the control of the Minangkabau and Malay vassals of the villages Naning and Ringy, a burgher was appointed *Tommagen* or baiiff for life. He adjudicated

* Note.—It is quite unlikely that in this context the word means "a large wasp." In Khassi *naneng* = "from above." (JRASSB, 1917, LXXVIII p. 252); up the Perak river is a spot called *Jaming*.

in all their disputes, punished their misdeeds and reported murders to the Governor of the Castle. His pay was a percentage of the betel or *sireh* sent from Naning to the Malacca market, which amounted yearly to quite 1,000 *crusados*. He had an agent at Naning who informed him of what was happening there. A Minangkabau boat coming down-river had to pay him 1 *crusado* and to give certain presents on its cargo of fruit, chicken and cattle.... Under him were one or two *Orang Kaya*." Schouten adds that Rembau was ruled by a Minangkabau styled *Lela Maharaja*, was subject to Johor and was a manor (*Heerlijkheid*) of the Dato' Bendahara who enjoyed a revenue from it.

The *Dagh-Register* confirms the existence of trade with the hinterland in the Portuguese period. As early as December 1641 the Sungai Ujong river was blockaded to keep out foreign traders. And in March 1642, corroborating the suzerainty of his Malacca ancestors, the Sultan of Johor wrote to Rembau and Klang (addressing Khatib Hitam the Shahbandar of one of those States) to exchange Christian slaves for traders captured by the Dutch on the Penagi and Ujong rivers. On 23 May 1643 the Sultan was ordering the Shahbandar of Sungai Ujong to recover the boat of one Cosma Dalmodé. In 1644 after Captain Forsenburgh and Collector Menie had been killed by the people of Rembau, the same Sultan informed the Governor at Malacca that his Shahbandar was guarding Dutch interests in Sungai Ujong. The office of Shahbandar, Sungai Ujong, would hardly have been newly created by the Sultan of Johor in Portuguese times: it must go back to Malay rule in Malacca and antedate 1511. Moreover as there is an entry in the *Dagh-Register* under October 1644 that assured of the "treachery" of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil III of Johor, "the Minangkabaus very bravely removed their property from Pahang," it is almost certain that these Sumatran immigrants had reached the east coast of the Malay Peninsula before the Dutch captured Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641.

JOHOR, THE DUTCH AND THE BUGIS.

On 14 January 1641 the Dutch captured Malacca from the Portuguese. Not content like the Portuguese with mere naval bases, they started to interfere in the affairs of the inland states. During the siege of Malacca the Malays of Johor and the Minangkabaus of Naning and Rembau had helped the Dutch, "mainly for their own advantage, robbing and stealing especially from the slaves of the Portuguese but also from the native Christians who fled by reason of hunger and were ordered to leave the town." A Raja Merah was now recognised as chief of Naning, and as "agent" one called by Schouten "Inche Vador,"—perhaps identical with Enche' Woddat or Wadat who is elsewhere described as headman of Malikai. These two did not agree. Moreover Schouten records that owing to his promise to give up Christian slaves and arms, the Naning folk were not pleased with the administration of Raja Merah, in consequence of which Alexander Mendes went to Naning and induced Dato' Bongsu and Raja Merah's brother and other Naning chiefs to visit Malacca, where on 24 July 1641 they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Dutch and agreed to have Raja Bongsu appointed co-chief with Raja Merah and to sign a treaty. So on 15 August 1641 articles were concluded between Joans van Twist, Governor of Malacca, and the elders of Naning, to wit, "To' Lela Pahlawan Captain, Raja Merah,* Perpatih Sultan (? — Perpateh Sa-batang!) Maranga Matran Mara and Bansade Raja (? — Bangsa 'diraja)."¹ Naning promised to be a loyal vassal, ready to surrender criminals and fugitive slaves, to pay a tithe of its rice, fruit, betel and pepper and a tenth of the money passing at sales of land and to hand over all pikes, muskets, daggers, swords, gunpowder and ball: on penalty of death and confiscation of property no Christians would they circumcise or sell to Moors or heathen and they would demand only half the price of slaves who might run away to become Christians; on pain of forfeiting life and goods they would not trade with any one except the Dutch at Malacca. Any free Malacca Christian might live voluntarily at Naning provided he paid the taxes in force for the district. If a Minangkabau of

* When To' Lela Pahlawan Captain of Naning was deposed by the Dutch, Sri Raja Merah is said to have become first *Penghulu* (1643). A very old man he surrendered the Company's signet to Juara Megat, a candidate of the Sultan Johor accepted as his successor by the Dutch in 1703. Juara Megat was succeeded by his sister's son, Kukah, whose successors in order were Maulana Garang, then Janggut and in 1786 (*S.S.R., Malacca Consultations A.63*) Anjak or Bukit Jutor; Anjak was succeeded in 1801 by his nephew Abdul ('alias 'dul) Sayid.

Merah was a Sumatran title and is found nowhere else in Negeri Sembilan. Was it due to the Pasai origin of the Bendaharas of old Malacca, first overlords of Naning? And did the Malays merely restore in 1641 the original Malay title *Penghulu Sri Raja Merah* in place of the style *Captain* introduced by the Portuguese? There must have been a Malay chief of Naning before 1511.

Naning should die without heirs, then, like their predecessors the Portuguese, the Dutch were to take half the property and the chief of Naning, half: if he left heirs, the Company and the chief were each to have a twentieth of the property. If a Naning man committed murder and fled, the Company would seize all his goods, returning half to a wife or heir, if any. At the collection of the rice tithe the Company undertook to give the planters 200 *gantang* of unpounded rice for their maintenance, to present a piece of linen cloth and a piece of *cesse* to the Captain of Naning and to pay 5 crusados each to the valuer of the crops and the Captain's clerk. All Naning vessels were to pay harbour dues on arrival in Malacca. Naning was to pay for one servant at the Malacca warehouse to attend to the needs of the crews of Naning boats. No Naning man might leave his house and go elsewhere without a permit for which he was to give a fowl. No Minangkabau from elsewhere might remove to Naning or travel there without a permit for which he had to pay 8 reals a head.

There was nothing new in this one-sided agreement, which was based on Portuguese precedent and allowed the weaker side hardly more rights and privileges than a Minangkabau would allow one of those Jakuns whom his legal system chose to regard as ancestresses. But unlike their predecessors at Malacca, the Dutch were energetic and insistent on observance of agreements. Naning was so slow to surrender arms and Christian slaves that it was decided to appoint an officer as procurator of the district. At Naning's request a "mean" Portuguese, Pero Dabreu, alias Red Face, was provisionally appointed Temenggong but Schouten distrusted him and would have preferred Anthonio Pingero, a Malacca-born man, married to the sister of the Shahbandar's wife. However in January 1642 it was decided, in order to advance the trade in rice and betel, to send the Shahbandar Jan Menie as Temenggong of the Naning villages with a considerable force in order to secure his safety. On 20 January Menie returned to Malacca after blocking the Penagi (or Naning and Rembau branch of the Linggi river) with felled timber and so shutting in some dozen Malay trading vessels: two boats (*balen*) laden with salt-roe were seized along with their crews to punish the Naning folk for having sent Christian slaves in irons to Bengkalis. Bricklayers were badly wanted to construct fortifications at Malacca. So in February Francisco Carvaiglio was sent with a sum of 200 reals and a letter from the Dutch governor of Malacca to the "Captain Toubelapalwan" (To Lela Pahlawan) to ransom all the Christian slaves in Naning; with great trouble a roll of all the Christian fugitives there was compiled and forty slaves were redeemed for 365 crusados—the people of Naning tried to retain two Malacca boys and several women who had of their own free will become betrothed to Minangkabaus. On 27 February 1642 after a journey of twelve days Jan Menie with ten Dutch and twenty Malacca

soldiers returned to that port with thirty Christians, slaves and free, whom he had redeemed in Naning and Rembau for 649½ crusados to serve on public works. Rembau agreed that, existing slaves and freemen excluded, it would for the future surrender Christian fugitives to Malacca for half their value. And on condition that Rembau would trade only with Malacca, the Dutch raised the blockade of the Penagi river,—though by May Rembau envoys were in Malacca begging for Dutch intercession with the Sultan of Johor who had fined the Lela Maharaja and his elders \$200 for allowing foreigners to frequent the Penagi river and for their refractory attitude to the Dutch! The Governor-General decided to defer in Naning any demand for payment of a poll-tax, and rent on houses and lands but the villagers were to deliver one tenth of their fresh fish and their betel to the Dutch, who for the half year farmed out the collection of the former for 200 reals and of the latter for 110 reals: at the end of that period the farmers bid 240 and 130 reals respectively. The collection of the fruit tithe was leased for 170½ reals:—the year before (1641) half the fruit had been given as payment to the gatherers. In March 1642 Jan Menie was sent with twelve four-oars and fifty armed men to collect a tenth of the rice crop. He found Naning in great disorder owing to the slackness of the chiefs and made them swear on the Quran to administer justice as in Portuguese times—probably a euphemism for the extortion of a promise to collect tithes more rigorously! In May the heads of the four Naning villages brought to Malacca 2,000 *gantang* of rice, which was badly wanted for cattle; they were promised that they would not be held liable for debts contracted with the Portuguese during the siege—and no Portuguese was to visit Naning without a pass from the Temenggong. For the moment Rembau gave no trouble and though tithes and fines were hard to collect, the Naning folk were so "obedient" that Jan Jansz Menie was instructed to study the aborigines of Naning, of whom he wrote an interesting account, describing how the Minangkabaus constantly captured and enslaved the people who have been elevated by Minangkabau theorists into their matrilineal ancestresses and owners of the soil! In October Naning asked to commute the rice tithe for cash or pepper and arranged to sell all its pepper to Malacca for 30 crusados a *bahar*. But trouble soon broke out. Malacca records say that the people were indignant at the banishment of "Tuan Lela Riawan," who must be the To' Lela Pahlawan created their Captain in 1641. In 1643 the Malacca Council decided to send a deputation "to persuade the Minangkabaus of Naning to adopt an agricultural and peaceful life." But selected to raise the refractory villagers "from the state of barbarism under which they laboured" senior merchant Snoueq said that he was unwell and not proficient in Malay and that the road was impassable. So on 3 February Governor Jeremias van Vliet set out, escorted

by Captain Laurens Forsenburgh, the Shahbandar Jan Jansz Menie, the fiscal Gerrit Rijser and the secretary Joan Truijtmān with 60 Dutch and 100 native soldiers. The intention was to compose a quarrel between some chiefs and the villagers and to recover black Christians free and bond together with the arms that had fallen into the villagers' possession during the siege of Malacca. The chiefs were informed that the planting of more pepper and rice would eradicate malignity. One unworthy malignant Enche' Wadat, headman of Melikai, was to be deposed; the river down to Pengkalan Nawar was to be kept clear; one-tenth of the rice was to be delivered annually to Malacca in kind or in cash; Raja Merah was to come in person or by deputy to pay homage to the Governor,—and the chiefs were to be instructed as to the extent of their civil jurisdiction. But though it required only the labour of four men to clear the river, the obstinate villagers declared that they were Raja Merah's subjects and not his slaves. However they were exhorted not to murmur at such trivial labour, when the Governor himself had come there to punish the wicked and protect the obedient and loyal; it would be imprudent to resist his wishes. Accordingly with one consent and loud voice the villagers exclaimed, "The will of the Governor of Malacca be done." Raja Merah was given a commission as subordinate chief over the districts of Naning, Melikai, Inak and Petling. One disaffected chief, Orang Kaya "Per Mutu Merah" (or Pernata Merah) a gambler and a cockfighter was, with the concurrence of Raja Merah, fined 50 crusados, and for some "enormous crime" Contella (or Cancella) Lascara, exheadman of Petling, was fined \$100 crusados or in default to be scourged and banished. The deputation took a survey of the country nearly as far as the Rembau forests and decided that, if pepper were planted, the Company would derive great profit. But when it demanded slaves and arms and certain stolen goods and Tampin, inhabited by a Malaccan Alexander Mendos (or Mendes), the people of Rembau procrastinated and declared that Tampin had been given to them by Johor and that they had paid Menie compensation for the stolen goods. Sent from Naning to hasten matters, Captain Forsenburgh and Menie with six Dutch soldiers were ambushed and massacred. Going to the spot with all his force, Governor van Vliet was so hard pressed that he abandoned a chest containing 13,000 to 14,000 reals and retired to Malacca. Thirty of the Dutch forces fell at Rembau. Alarmed on his own account, the Sultan of Johor sent Hang Kamis and Hang Sikam to Malacca to express his distress at the death of his good friend Menie and he sent Sri Maharaja Lela and Raja Lela Wangsa to Batavia to testify that their rebellious Minangkabaus were not the Sultan's subjects but tenants of his Bendaharas. However the Council of India at Batavia considered the envoys need not have taken this constitutional quibble further than Malacca and it required the

Sultan to punish Naning and Rembau. On 5 May 1643 Rembau folk plundered and burnt a Malacca fishing-boat in Sungai Baru and killed two men. By 23 May the Rembau and Naning "murderers," that is, villagers, had fallen into great poverty, owing to the Dutch blockade of the Penagi river; Raja Merah was reported to want peace but was too afraid of Rembau to come to Malacca. The Dutch were now at war with Rembau and Naning: they feared Johor and Johor feared them. The trade of Malacca decreased and plantations along the river were abandoned. In August 1644 five Naning Malays, Itam, Bongsu, Silap, Putara and a slave Patchium (who turned informer) were convicted of horrid treason. Itam had often been entrusted with letters for the chiefs of Naning and Rembau but now having planned to lead a thousand Minangkabaus against Malacca he was tortured to death and his body exposed on a gibbet. Silap and Bongsu were beheaded and quartered; Putara was beheaded and quartered and had his head placed on a gibbet. Patchium the informer was acquitted. A little later two Rembau folk were caught on the Muar river and executed. But before they dared to carry out any of these executions the Dutch had sent Peter Sourij to arrange peace with Johor, after which the Sultan commanded Bendahara Sekudai to deal with his "tenants."

Proceeding to Rembau the Bendahara (a direct descendant in the seventh generation of Sri Nara diraja Tun 'Ali p. 42) adopted the diplomatic method of putting his "grandson," that is a junior relative, in office, and tradition says that that "grandson" was Lela Maharaja Sri Rama, first Undang of Rembau. Another Sri Rama was second chief of Naning in 1664. Further, tradition makes a To' Laut Dahum one of the founders of Rembau. Three brothers, great-great-grandsons of the lame old Bendahara who fled from Malacca after the Portuguese captured it on 10 August 1511 and died at Segamat, bore the names of Maharaja Tun Laut, Paduka Sri Rama and Megat Sri Rama. This visit by the Bendahara Sekudai left a lasting impression on Negri Sembilan folklore, which makes him ancestor of the territorial chiefs of the old Pasir Besar (and the modern Jobol) and makes a Megat Sri Rama the founder of Pasir Besar, Sri Menanti and Pasir Panjang just before he murdered the sadist and pervert Sultan Mahmud of Johor in 1699 at Kota Tinggi. All Negri Sembilan tradition relates that after settling affairs at Rembau and Naning, Bendahara Sekudai crossed the peninsula by way of Sungai Ujong to Pahang, while an entry in the *Dagk-Register* for October 1644 tells how "assured of the treachery" of the Sultan of Johor, "the Minangkabaus very bravely removed their property from Pahang." The evidence suggests 1644 as the year of the visit of Bendahara Sekudai.

Not till February 1645 did the Dutch seek to avenge the massacre of Forsenburgh and Menie, when at last a force of 350

men under Joan Truijtman set out to "exterminate" the men of Rembau and Naning. It burnt the nearest village, Melikai, destroyed orchards and rice-fields and, by reason of exhaustion lack of supplies and the mustering of 2,000 Minangkabaus, retired. The enemy continued to plunder and enslave Malaccans by forest and shore. In February 1646 Governor Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshorn sent a force of 570 men, including 290 whites, under his second in command, Valerio van Gistelen. After five days they reached Naning and felling 800 coconut and betel palms built a stockade for the weary troops. Short of ammunition van Gistelen decided to bivouac there for two days to save his face and then retire. But dismayed by the burning and felling the enemy unexpectedly hoisted a flag of truce. The Dutch marched home with the loss of one man, and five days later the enemy's seven envoys arrived, among them "Chilly Molucco brother-in-law of Lela Maharaja, chief of Rembau, and Khatib Itam Muda, brother-in-law of the Rembau Shahbandar." The proposals were that chiefs from Naning and Rembau should be executed for the murder of Forseburgh and Menie, three from each place and three for each victim, and similarly common fellows for their murdered followers. All stolen persons and van Vliet's chest were to be restored. The Minangkabaus were to defray the cost of the Dutch expeditions and publicly to ask pardon. The Council of India having long recognised that the hasty and violent threats of van Vliet had largely caused the trouble remitted the death penalties. The Minangkabaus declared that they had no money to defray the costs of the expeditions but they promised to pay by instalments compensation for stolen persons and van Vliet's belongings, meanwhile restoring 6 stolen slaves, 1 silver candlestick, 2 silver spoons, 8 silver dishes, 1 Spanish cassock, 1 undergarment, 1 red satin doublet with gold buttons and a silver-plated handle. On 17 September 1646 the Orang Kaya Maradia (= Maharaja), Shahbandar and all the Rembau elders swore to the Shahbandar Abraham Steen representing President Arnoldt de Vlamingh van Outshoorn that they would treat the Dutch as friends and brothers, opening the Penagi river: this contract was signed at Rembau at the house of Chilliij Moloug by Lela Maradia, chief, Marra Banga Radia (*hulubalang* "captain"), Zoutan Coija (= Sultan Kaya), Magat Mantijalja (? = Mautri Yahya), Panjaij, Burop, Pocamos, Patambo and Enche Saperhardt. At the same time and place Naning renewed its former treaty, the signatories being Raja Merah, Raja Stiawangsia, Marta Namsa, Amudi 'diraja, Raja Gaga and Raja Stia, captain (*hulubalang*). On 24 October 1646 Raja Merah with six of his principal chiefs arrived in Malacca and (on 15 November) stood with uncovered heads, confessed their guilt and listened to their pardon read in Portuguese and Malay in the presence of the Chinese Captain, Notchim, and in the name of His Highness Frederick Hendrick, Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau. However

instead of adhering to their promises the "idle, sluggish, lazy, faithless and perfidious" Minangkabaus kept pleading poverty. The Naning rice tithe did not cover the cost of collection, so that in prosperous years a small formal money payment was accepted instead and in lean years (such as 1675 to 1677) the Dutch got nothing; having to pay tithes to his own chiefs, the peasant was not disposed to pay over again to the Dutch. In 1647 the Rembau folk delivered to Meydert Clinckert, the Dutch agent, 81 reals weight of silver plate, 117 gold buttons, 2 old blood-stained hats, 2 ragged pairs of breeches, 270 *gantang* of rice and 22½ reals in cash!

In 1651 Sri Raja Merah was publicly thanked for apprehending a fugitive Malacca slave guilty of murder. In 1652 he and his sons paid tribute of pepper and received a present of cloths. In 1652 the Dutch deprecated the execution of Sri Raja Merah's son-in-law by the Naning chiefs for an attempt on the lives of his wife and father-in-law and held that he should have been tried at Malacca. The Council at the same time sentenced to death one Enche Jumaat for attempting the life of Sri Raja Merah.

During 1663 Raja Merah, a mild gentleman, and one of his scatterbrain chiefs Raja Stia Wangsa were at variance: in December Raja Merah was allowed to move his residence in Naning and lent 100 reals. Early in 1664 Raja Stia Wangsa was deposed and the Orang Kaya Sri Rama Penghulu created second chief in his place, being installed by the Governor of Malacca and his Council. Raja Stia Wangsa was confined in Malacca but he escaped and in the autumn of 1664 did homage to Raja Merah and paid 20 reals as earnest of compensation for certain stolen goods. Instead of paying he and his people took to the jungle and plundering, but he was caught and shut in Malacca's Slavenburgh (alias De Misericorde) "the old high stone castle erected by the Portuguese" on the site where the Malay rulers had lived, and there he still lay in the middle of 1665. In the latter half of that year Raja Merah complained of the tax-farmer Maria de Silvera for detaining betel-dealers till their *sireh* leaves were stale and unsaleable and for neglecting repair of the Naning rest-house at Malacca. He suggested that Anthony Pinjero and Manuel Ferere should be appointed collectors of duty in Silvera's place. The Council chose Manuel Ferere as more conversant with the Malay language. In 1668 the tithe on the Naning betel crops yielded the Company hardly 30 reals a year!

In 1673 Jambi sacked Johor Lama and drove the Sultan to Pahang, whence he removed to Riau, not returning to Johor until 1689. Meanwhile the Minangkabaus having "prospered and multiplied and waxed proud and arrogant" ceased to render obeisance to Johor. Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Klang, all subjects of Johor, joined with Naning and chose a Minangkabau prince from

the east coast of Sumatra for their overlord, one Raja Ibrahim, who claiming to be a saint and a descendant of the old Malacca kings ascended the Penagi river without ceremony in a single ship and with only a few followers. Bort denounced him as a fugitive Muhammadan "priest" driven out of Aceh for his turbulence. On 11 March 1677 Bort received from him a letter demanding that the Dutch patrols in the Straits should not interfere with his people, and stating that he was established in Naning and intended to proceed to Mecca. No answer was given to a missive that lacked a proper seal and appeared to have been "written to the order of a presumptuous insolent madman." The "impostor's" claim to be able to poison the wind, bewitch firearms and render himself invisible so terrified the "black Roman Catholics and other silly, credulous people," that Governor Bort sent a letter to the aged Raja Merah explaining why he had not answered the "kinglet's" missive and requiring that some of the Naning chiefs should come to Malacca for a conference. One Ossenina Maharaia took the letter to Naning, where it got no answer. People now flocked into Malacca fort. The principal streets of the north suburb were barricaded and a breastwork was thrown up from the seashore to the garden of the farmer Rulof Gerritsz. Here the enemy, who numbered about 3,700 men and had taken Batang Tiga, was stayed and repulsed again and again by the Dutch forces. None of the Dutch troops were killed and only three wounded, in particular Lieut. Jan Rosdom who unhorsed by a Minangkabau pikeman got him down till help came and he was killed "with all his fine habiliments" and had his head stuck on a post. The Dutch blockaded the Penagi river with the yacht '*'t Wape van Malaca*' and the sloop *Onrust* and cut off the enemy's supplies, but having only 253 soldiers and just over 600 levies Bort could not take the offensive or prevent the ravaging of the country-side. Meanwhile Malaccans became as eager for local *sreich* leaves as they had always been for the Naning leaf. Bort appealed to Batavia for 150 troops to safeguard Malacca and 600 for a punitive expedition to "exterminate the Minangkabaus and clear the countryside for industrious Chinese." 150 soldiers arrived on July 21 by the fly-boat *Soerdijk* but their Honours could not spare troops for the punitive expedition, which had to await a more convenient season. The little war cost fl. 7814.15.10 which the Governor hoped to raise by freewill offerings from the public! On 27 June 1678 Governor Bort wrote to Batavia that after the rice-harvest the Minangkabau kinglet would attack Malacca again and that meantime his people were damaging villages and orchards and had killed one Dutchman. In 1679 Raja Ibrahim, the invulnerable, was "treacherously murdered" by a Bugis, Baggia, a slave of Raja Merah, and on 21 August the new Governor of Malacca, Jacob Jorise Pitz, wrote to Batavia that Raja Merah and the Naning chiefs had sued for peace, saying that they had

been misled by Rembau, and now, having discovered their error, had killed the kinglet. The Dutch suspected that this move was dictated by their overlord of Johor who at war with Jambi wanted to placate Malacca. Anyhow by 13 February 1680 Malacca had renewed and amplified the old treaty with Naning and Rembau, and the new treaty was duly ratified by Batavia in August in the following despatch:

"The Governor-General Ryckloff van Goens and the Council of India at Batavia make known. We have carefully considered the treaty of peace and the articles and conditions accepted and concluded between the Extraordinary Council of India and Governor Jacob Jorisze Pits and the Council of Malacca on the one side, with Sri Maharsja Baginda Maulana, sons and deputies of Raja Merah, Stia Hulubalang head of the Tiga Batu folk, Raja Begagar head of the Sri Melenggang folk, Sri Rara Garang head of the Batu Hampar folk, and Che 'Abdu'l-Backy head of the foreigners, envoys of Raja Merah chief of Naning, with Stia Hulubalang, Shahbandar of Rembau, Pa' Enche' Gagal head of the Mungkal folk, Pa' Enche' Lela head of the Johor folk and sent in place of the Captain to Rembau, Paduka Bangsa sent in place of Merhangsa captain of the Payakumbuh folk, Marra Pahlawan head of the foreigners, Mantri Hulubalang in place of Stia Maharaja head of the Batu Hampar folk, Goulon Cassumba vice Che Bassaer head of the Tiga Batu folk, representatives of Rembau and its dependent villages on the other side, made and concluded at the town and fortress of Malacca on 25 January and confirmed and mutually signed on 13 February 1680. We the highest authority of the Generale Nederlandse Geocroyeerde Oost-Indische Compe, ratify and approve." On 26 October the aged Raja Merah with his three sons came to Malacca to plead poverty as a reason for not delivering 60 slaves, 100 buffaloes and 25 cattle as a fine for their rebellion; and in May 1681, Rembau and Naning still pleading incapacity to pay, their hostages had to be released. In 1685 the Dutch again requested Johor to instruct Rembau, Tampin, Sungai Ujong, Klang and Selangor to observe their old friendship at Malacca. One unverified authority states that in 1701 Johor transferred her suzerainty over Naning by treaty to the Dutch.

In 1703 Malacca appointed Sri Maharaja Juara Megat Penghulu of Naning in place of the old and infirm Raja Merah. Juara Megat had sought out in the fastnesses of Muar Genta di-Langit, the abductor of one of the Sultan of Johor's concubines, slain him and taken the wretched woman to Malacca. The pious 'Abdu'l-Jailil, first Bendahara ruler of Johor, thereupon recommended Juara Megat to Malacca and bestowed on him two slaves, a sword called the Sated Serpent, a silk coat, a genealogical tree and a tract of Gemencheh territory. In 1705 Juara Megat received a seal and insignia from his royal Johor patron and in 1707 the

then ruler of Rembau got a title and seal "by the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja," a brother of the same Johor Sultan. The (Shah)bandar of Sungai Ujong got a seal in 1715. These seals did not create new offices. The Sultans of Malacca had stationed a Shahbandar in Sungai Ujong, and the Minangkabaus of Klang and Rembau and probably of other states had always been tenants of the Bendaharas and now a Bendahara (Sri Maharaja, as he is called on old silver in the Johor palace) was Sultan of Johor and prepared to give seals and insignia for services rendered.

But in 1719 this Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah was driven into exile in Pahang and killed by the Minangkabau pretender, Raja Kechil, and the next Sultan, Sulaiman, who ruled from Riau, was a puppet in the hands of Bugis allies called to assist Johor against the said Raja Kechil. In 1700 the To' Engku of Klang, a relative of the first Bendahara Sultan, had given a seal of authority to a Bugis Yamtuuan of Selangor and it was from there Daing Parani summoned reinforcements to combat Raja Kechil's attacks on Riau: to create a diversion the Bugis attacked Linggi which Raja Kechil hurried to defend. In 1772, according to the Dutch records in Malacca, there was "a son of the Sultan of Minangkabau" at Rembau, ready to lead the tribes against the Bugis. It was a forlorn hope, seeing that for half a century the energetic Bugis were to be a new and powerful factor in the politics of Malacca's hinterland.

In 1745, ousted by Bugis adventurers, Sultan Sulaiman ruler of the old Johor empire from the new capital at Riau, made a treaty with the Dutch that when he could exercise his former authority over Selangor, Klang and Linggi, he would observe Johor's old treaties with the Netherlands East India Company—in the matter of a tin monopoly. In 1756, grateful for Dutch assistance in his Siak war and confident of Dutch power, Sultan Sulaiman granted the Dutch Company a monopoly of tin in Selangor, Klang and Linggi. Actually these territories were in the strong hands of his turbulent domestic enemies the Bugis: Selangor under Sultan Salahu'd-din, Klang under a Raja Tua and Linggi under the famous Bugis chief (Yam-tuan Muda) Daing Kemboja. Before the end of the year Daing Kemboja and his Rembau allies were wasting Malacca territory, though by May 1757 they were driven back to Linggi. The Malay party, Sultan Sulaiman and Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, then tried to get the better of the insubordinate Bugis by handing over to the Dutch Rembau and Linggi, which in actual fact no longer belonged to the Johor ruler but to the Bugis: on 12 December 1757 they signed a treaty offering to give to the Company Rembau and its nine countries (*negeri*) together with Linggi, subject to two stipulations, firstly that the Dutch would not interfere with the Muhammadan religion or alter the prayers for the Sultan of Johor, and secondly that power and place should not be granted to Daing Kemboja, Raja 'Alam, Raja Said, Raja Haji, Raja Tua of Klang or Raja 'Adil of Rembau,

who had ruined Malacca. The Dutch wanted to be friends and trade alike with Malays and Bugis, and they tried to help their old ally the Sultan of Johor. So on 1 January 1758 the Bugis were persuaded to sign a treaty at Fort Filipina, Kuala Linggi, promising that the Company's friends, in particular the Sultan of Johor, should always be their friends, and in their turn granting the Dutch a monopoly of the tin from Linggi, Rembau and Klang. On 11 November 1759 a treaty was signed between David Bulen, Governor of Malacca, and Raja Muda Daing Kemboja of Linggi, Raja Tua of Klang and the heads of the nine countries of Rembau, namely Maharaja Pakki, Penghulu Dagang, Stia Probo (? Purba), Paduka Alam of the Four Tribes and the Penghulu Pandita Kaya and Shahbandar Pandita Garang. It was agreed that the parties to the treaty should be friends, that the Company would restore fugitive slaves or freemen who fled to Malacca, that the Company should have a monopoly for the purchase of the tin of Linggi, Rembau and Klang at 38 Spanish reals a *bahar* of 300 *kati* and that the chiefs would endeavour to suppress piracy and allow no boats to pass the Straits of Malacca without a Dutch pass.

This treaty is interesting for several reasons. It contains the first authentic mention of the nine districts of Rembau and one wonders if the existence of nine districts there did not later fire Raja Melewar to want Nine States under his control. Secondly the treaty is signed not by Raja 'Adil but by the heads of tribes. For from the Malay agreement of 12 December 1757 it is obvious that the associate of Daing Kemboja, Raja Haji and Raja Tua of Klang was not a Minangkahau prince but a Bugis, who claimed to be at Rembau as the delegate of the Sultan of Johor, an overlord he treated merely as a convenience. Raja 'Adil was counted a Yam-tuan Muda of Rembau, an office named after that of the head of the Bugis in the Riau-Johor empire though apparently for Rembau no such office had been sanctioned by the Johor Sultan. Raja 'Adil married the daughter of a Bugis chief and his grand-nephew, Raja 'Ali, was the son of a Bugis chief Daing Alampaki. The Bugis ancestry of the founder of the house of the Yam-tuan Mudas of Rembau and Tampin explains much in Negri Sembilan history. Not only did Raja 'Adil leave a son Raja Asil, who in 1798 took the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah, Yang di-pertuan Muda of Rembau; by a wife of the Tiga Batu tribe he is reputed to have become the grandfather of Tengku Ahmad Shah, alias Sabun, who became first Yam-tuan Muda of Jelebu. How did Raja 'Adil get a footing in Jelebu? About this time the territorial chief of Jelebu is said to have got the title of Dato' *Mandulika Mantri Akhir Zaman Sutan Jelebu from Raja di-Baroh, son and

* *Mandulika* "district officer" is an ancient title occurring in Trengganu, in the 14th century (JRASMB 1924, pp. 256-7), in Klang in the 16th and perhaps earlier (JRASSB, 1925 p. 45), and in Sungai Ujong (JRASSB 83, pp. 133-5). *Akkir Zaman Sutan* is purely Minangkabau.

deputy of Sultan Sulaiman of the Riau-Johor empire. When Raja di-Baroh died in January 1761, Bugis and Malays were at peace. Did Raja 'Adil contrive to go to Jelebu to instal the chief who had got the new magniloquent title? Alone of Bugis chiefs he managed to become absorbed by the Minangkabaus and be treated as a Sumatran prince. But the Jelebu title is half Malaccan and half Minangkabau, the first half even dating back perhaps to the time of tin-miners from Sri Vijaya, the second half added after the coming of Raja Melewar. Perhaps Raja di-Baroh gave the Mandulika a seal, but it cannot have borne the Minangkabau words equivalent to "Licking Creation."

The Bugis invaded Sungai Ujong. The title of its territorial chief, another relative of Bendahara Sekudai, was changed from Penghulu Mantri to Klanan Putra and local tradition still gives the Klanan the rank of a Yam-tuan Muda, a style affected by the Bugis princes of Riau and suggesting that its first holder in Sungai Ujong may have been one of Daing Kemboja's Bugis associates. In 1872 'Abdu'l-Samad, Sultan of Selangor, handed over Tanjung Tuan for a light-house "with the consent of the Dato' Klanan of Sungai Ujong because according to the old Johor constitution he is as it were our parent." Moreover not till the second or third decade of the XIXth century did Sungai Ujong adopt Minangkabau matriarchal custom. Daing Kemboja left Linggi in 1760 never to return, but its present population are descendants of colonists who came from Riau first to Rembau and then, it is said, in 1783 removed to Linggi there to follow their own patriarchal life.

The Bugis influence in this part of the Peninsula was now passing. In 1760 the able and vigorous Daing Kemboja went to Riau to resume his office of Yam-tuan Muda of the Johor empire and there he remained until his death in 1777 with the famous Raja Haji as his assistant. In 1784 Rembau and Pedas joined in Raja Haji's attack on Malacca which led to the death and defeat of that redoubtable Bugis warrior, to the Dutch conquest of Bugis Selangor and to the Dutch conquest of Riau and their expulsion of the Bugis from that island. The Dutch who thereafter brooked no Bugis at Riau were not disposed to support them in the hinterland of Malacca. These decades when first the Bugis chiefs were busy ruling Riau and later were scattered in exile, provided opportunity for the rise of the Minangkabau prince destined to be founder of the present royal house of Negri Sembilan.

MINANGKABAU ASCENDANCY.

As early as 1677 Naning and Rembau had installed as their king a Minangkabau prince from the east coast of Sumatra but according to the Naning account he was killed as an impostor. A Sungai Ujong tradition records that the next Minangkabau prince was summoned by Sungai Ujong, Johol, Naning and Jelebu and bore the name of Raja Kasah, but inexpert at matriarchal custom he was sent home to Sumatra. After him, says the same tradition, came Raja Adil, who being as we have seen a Bugis naturally failed at matriarchal law. Then came an impostor Raja Khatib also no authority on Minangkabau custom though he married Warna Mas one of the daughters of Naam first Penghulu of Ulu Muar: defeat by the greatest Minangkabau prince of them all, Raja Melewar, involved the execution of Naam and the flight of Raja Khatib. After this victory over his rival, Raja Melewar is said—probably by constitutional fiction—to have settled on the Penajis, a tributary of the Rembau river until he was summoned to the throne by the four Undangs or territorial chiefs. Who was Raja Melewar? and who were the four electors?

Raja Melewar claimed to be of the royal house of Minangkabau, that mystic remote house reputed to have the bluest blood in the Malay world. Little is known about this family which attained its zenith in the thirteenth century A.D. In 1275 Kertanagara, ruler of Singosari in Java, sent an expedition against Sumatra, whose success is betokened by an image of Amoghapasa at Batang-Hari in the heart of the island: its inscription names one Mauliwarmadewa as then ruler of Sumatra under Kertanagara. The best known Minangkabau ruler Aditiawarman (1340–1375), besides being a pious Buddhist, performed (according to an inscription of 1347) a fertility dance with his consort as male and female manifestations of Shiva and Mahadewi and was also, as a Saruasa inscription dated 1375 testifies, a member of a secret demoniacal sect of Bhairavas professing a Tantric doctrine that connected the worship of Shiva with the worship of Buddha. Composed in 1365 the *Nagarakrtagama* puts Minangkabau among countries conquered by Majapahit. After that there is a break in historical sources. The theory that the Minangkabau empire split into three in 1680 is discounted by entries in the *Dagh-Register* recording the accession of Sri Sultan 'Ardimetchia' and some dissensions but no revolution, while Thomas Dias a Portuguese sent there by the Dutch Governor of Malacca writes of Sultan Sripada Muda king of Pagar Ruyong in 1684 and another contemporary letter to the Susuhuman corrects the Sultan's title to Ahmad Shah. Below him, from old were three inferior territorial princes, one of them Raja 'Alam of Minangkabau, obviously the Batin 'Alam of Mantra-Minangkabau folklore. And there were four great chiefs, the Bendahara of Sungai Trap, the Tuan Kali of Padang Ganting, the Mengkudum of Sumantri and the Indomo

of Saruasa. The sphere of the Mengkudum (a dialect form of Makhдум) was the Minangkabau colonies in the Malay peninsula. The authority who sent princes to Negri Sembilan between 1770 and 1832 was sometimes Raja Alam and sometimes the Makhdum. Raja Melewar came by way of Siak a fief of Minangkabau subjected by the Sultans of Malacca: in the eighteenth century the conflict with Raja Kechil lost Siak to Malacca's successor, Johor, and most of the country adopted Minangkabau speech and custom. Raja Melewar brought the usual genealogy, not a tree of his own house but credentials sealed with the seals of the Sultan of Minangkabau and the rulers of Palembang, Jambi, Indragiri, Indrapura, Siak, Aceh, Priaman and so on; unless (as sometimes happened) the credentials were forged or borrowed, there is no reason to doubt his descent from the royal family of Minangkabau, even if the democrats of the Padang Highlands had then abolished the throne and even though he came from Siak. The father of Penghulu Naam claimed to be of the family of the Mengkudum of Sumanik and there seems no reason to suppose that the suspicious democratic Minangkabaus would be so gullible as not to get eventually a genuine Minangkabau Raja for their Yang di-pertuan. They offered the same terms as in their Sumatran homeland. For the royal house descent was to remain patriarchal while for all its subjects it was matrilineal. As at Pagar Ruyong, the prince was to own no land and levy no taxes but he was to be given a palace and to receive all rarities and freaks and fixed tribute of rice and coconuts.

Who were the four electors? All tradition enumerates the chiefs of Sungai Ujong, Johol and Rembau, some add the ruler of Jelebu for the fourth elector, others add the ruler of Klang, others the Penghulu of Ulu Muar, others the Penghulu of Naning. It is possible that there never were four electors but that Raja Melewar gradually extended his sway from Ulu Muar. It is possible that he got the blessing of a Malacca Governor tired of Bugis fighting and that he got the blessing of Naning, which as a vassal of the Dutch could give only its blessing. He had the sense to go inland beyond the reach of Dutch interference and he avoided the coastal states, Klang and Linggi, settlements of the maritime Bugis. That he had any serious conflict with the Bugis seems doubtful, considering the retirement of Daing Kemboja to Riau and the defeat and expulsion of the Bugis from that island. It is true that Rembau helped Raja Haji in his foiled attack on Malacca in 1784 but Raja Melewar took no part. Never again were the Bugis tolerated by the Dutch and the year 1795, when the British took over Malacca and admitted the Bugis to Riau again, was the year of Raja Melewar's death.

Not merely had Raja Melewar the sense to avoid the Bugis localities and the neighbourhood of Malacca. He avoided also the

tin-fields of Sungai Ujong and Jelebu. The only discreet course for a new-come prince was not to set himself in rivalry with any powerful chief like the Penghulu of Rembau or the Klanan Putra of Sungai Ujong: he had to win his way as a maker of small and harmless chieftains who should become his supporters.

Segamat under an Orang Kaya Muda appointed by the Sultan of Johor was too near that ruler's sphere of influence. Pasir Besar was far down the Muar in Johor territory and had become insignificant and been superseded by Johol, so that even the title of its chief was forgotten. Jelai, which I once thought was named after the river in Johol territory and had preceded Johol, is beyond doubt Jelai in Pahang, (according to Pahang genealogies and traditions still to be published by Mr. Linehan) ruled as it is to-day by a Maharaja Purba who got the title early in the seventeenth century from a Pahang Sultan 'Abdu'l-Ghafar Mohaidin Shah: besides had it been Johol, the two names could hardly have appeared together in the same list. Tradition avers that Johol superseded Inas only with the coming of Raja Melewar and gives historical detail, but it gives no detail as to Jelai's connection with Inas or Johol. The Sultan of Johor is said to have appointed a Raja Indra Segara chief (at Temerloh) over the contiguous tracts of Ulu Pahang Serting and Jempul: he cannot have been a formidable chief but (though for the Minangkabaus it meant the upper courses of the Serting and Triang rivers) Ulu Pahang like Jelai was at the periphery. Raja Melewar chose as his centre Sri Menanti in Ulu Muar. His presence there brought Johol and the little settlements round it to the forefront of Negri Sembilan polities, and it attracted Minangkabaus back from Pahang over the pass that Sultan Mahmud had crossed in his flight from the Portuguese in 1511. The little State of Terachi got a Penghulu whose mother was of the Sri Lemak tribe of Pahang and came from Mengkarak, and the same tribe settled and is found still in Jempul, Johol and Ulu Muar. Naam the first Penghulu of Muar was the son of a Pahang branch of the Sri Lemak tribe by a daughter of the Penghulu of Inas: his father came from Mengkarak. Though he executed Naam for intriguing with Raja Khatib, Raja Melewar married one of his daughters and gave court titles to two of his sons: Ulu Muar forged into prominence and power, though constitutionally, it never eclipsed or got level with Johol apparently because the rulers of Johol, coming from Pasir Besar, had the prestige of being descended from Bendahara Sekudai, a Malacca overlord not a Minangkabau immigrant. The Undang of Johol got a seal from Raja Melewar in 1778 A.D. Jempul and Serting now split away from Ulu Pahang and turned to Johol for their overlord, whereupon the Undang of Johol gave Jempul a Penghulu of his own family. Gunong Pasir, also, even if its claim to have got a title for its Penghulu from a Sultan of Johor is correct, now shared in the

prosperity brought by a Yam-tuan in its neighbourhood. As time went by, these little States round the palace at Sri Menanti, namely Ulu Muar, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Jempul and Inas assumed sufficient importance for the Yam-tuan Besar to reckon them constituents in a congeries of Nine States, so named that His Highness' territory might not be behind Rembau in importance.

For beyond Johor and the lesser States of Ulu Muar Raja Melewar failed to consolidate his dynasty. The Minangkabau of Klang can never except possibly for a few years after 1773 have formed an integral part of the Minangkabau federation, but that they existed as a considerable community is proved by Balthasar Bort. Probably their settlements were upstream in Sakai country, whither the power of the Bugis on the coast would push them; and their junction with the Nine States was the border of Sungai Ujong and Jelebu. In 1700 Klang was ruled by a To' Engku, relative of the new Bendahara Sultan of Johor, and under the later Bugis Sultans his office has continued to this day. After conquering Perak in 1804 Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor gave Klang with its tin-revenue to his cousins Raja Ja'far and Raja Idris to rule. At Rembau there was the Bugis family of Raja 'Adil, and three years after the death of Raja Melewar, the son of Raja 'Adil changed his name Raja Asil for the style Sultan Muhammad Shah, Yang di-pertuan Muda of Rembau; Melewar's successor, Raja Hitam (1795-1808) chose the diplomatic course of marrying Asil's sister, widow of the brother of the Bugis Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor! Next about 1820 Raja Lenggang (1808-24), the successor of Yam-tuan Besar Hitam, had to see Raja Sabun, a grandson of Raja 'Adil, assume the office of Yam-tuan Muda of Jelebu—eventually Sabun's daughter contracted a diplomatic marriage with Yam-tuan Besar Radin of Sri Menanti. The Klana Putra of Sungai Ujong, claiming the rank of a Yam-tuan Muda in his own right, dealt only with Yam-tuan Besars, and fired by the example of Rembau and Jelebu decided not to accept the dynastic principle by acknowledging Raja Radin the youthful son of Raja Lenggang but to get another Raja from Siak and in the meantime to put an adventurer Raja Kerjan in charge of Sri Menanti. In 1826 the Klana's new Yam-tuan Besar, Raja Laboh or Yam-tuan Sati, arrived with credentials, whose biggest seal bore the ludicrous description "Sultan Maharaja 'diraja son of the deceased Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah": Sultan Maharaja 'diraja was apparently meant for the ruler of Minangkabau but 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah was a Johor ruler who had died in 1761! Anyhow Yam-tuan Sati was a son-in-law of Raja Asil, lately deposed by his own nephew Raja 'Ali, who was a nephew of the Bugis Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor and step-son of Yam-tuan Besar Hitam. Hated widely as the patron of the swashbuckler Raja Kerjan, detested in Johor and Ulu Muar as a usurper and rival of Raja Radin and in Rembau as the son-in-law of the deposed Yam-tuan Muda, after

four years Yam-tuan Sati quarrelled with his sole supporter, the Klanā Putra of Sungai Ujong, by an unconstitutional demand for a commission on petty winnings at a cockfight, and the Klanā encouraged the Penghulu of Muar to dethrone him. There were now five claimants to the Sri Menanti throne: the deposed Yam-tuan Sati, the swashbuckler Raja Kerjan, the Yam-tuan Muda 'Ali of Rembau, the rightful but boyish heir Raja Radin and his self-appointed guardian, one Raja Beringin! As a non-combatant in the Naning war of 1831 and 1832 Rembau won favour with the British, presuming on which in 1832 Raja 'Ali called himself Yam-tuan Besar of Negri Sembilan and appointed his adventurous son-in-law Sayid Sha'ban Yam-tuan Muda! The Negri Sembilan chiefs were disgusted. When Sayid Sha'ban took the field against the legitimate chief of Linggi and attempted to have the Undang of Rembau murdered, they rose in wrath, elected Raja Radin to the Sri Menanti throne and proclaimed war on Raja 'Ali and Sayid Sha'ban. The upshot was that Sayid Sha'ban managed to be the independent ruler of Tampin but not to be recognised as Yam-tuan Muda of Rembau.

On the death of Raja Radin in 1861, the Undangs after some dispute chose his brother Raja Imam as Yam-tuan Besar. Yam-tuan Imam died in 1869 whereupon Tengku Antah son of Radin and Tengku Ahmad Tunggal son of Imam both claimed the throne. The Undang of Rembau was sick of Yam-tuans and claimed independence. The Undang of Jelebu was cursed with a Yam-tuan Muda of his own. The Undang of Sungai Ujong favoured Tengku Ahmad Tunggal. With the support only of the Undang of Johol Tengku Antah established himself as Yam-tuan Besar and in 1876 angered at the Klanā's consideration for his rival Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, he attacked Sungai Ujong which was then under British protection.

BRITISH INTERVENTION.

The British first came into touch with Negri Sembilan when they occupied Malacca from 1795 to 1818. In 1801 a treaty was made with Raja Merah Captain Penghulu of Naning, 'dul-Sayid, Lela Hulubatang, Maulana Hakim, Orang Kaya Kechil, Membangun Kaya, Maharaja Orang Kaya and Maulana Garang, to wit, that the people of Naning would be submissive and faithful, deliver up the disobedient, give the British a monopoly of all tin coming to Naning from Sri Menanti, Sungai Ujong, Rembau and other places at 44 rix-dollars a *bahar*, deliver pepper "whenever any great quantity is to be had" at 12 rix-dollars a *bahar*, bring all inland goods down the river to Malacca and not traffic with inland nations on the river Penagi on pain of forfeiting lives and property, let their Penghulu be appointed by the British Governor of Malacca, restore all fugitive slaves to Malacca, accept half the value of slaves escaping to Malacca to become Christians and not sell or circumcise any Christian slave or freeman. Naning was bound to deliver one-tenth of its rice and fruit crops to the East India Company "but in consideration of their indigent circumstances," the Company agreed to be content with the annual homage of the Penghulu or his deputy bringing, "as a token of submission," only 400 *gantang* of rice. The chiefs of Naning had been signing treaties of this sort with Portuguese and Dutch for centuries. The tithe on rice had hardly ever covered the cost of its collection and in lean years had been waived so that from 1765 onwards the Dutch had accepted instead the tribute of 400 *gantang* or quart measures.

In 1818 Malacca was restored to the Dutch and Timmermann Thyssen renewed with Raja 'Ali and the chiefs of Rembau the treaty made in 1759 with Daing Kemboja (p. 57) but Batavia content with a vague suzerainty refused to ratify this engagement.

In 1824 the British returned to Malacca. During their first occupation, they had made the 1801 treaty with Naning and installed in 1802 'Abdu'l (or 'dul) Sayid as Penghulu on condition that he used the Company's seal. In 1807 Colonel Farquhar had remitted the yearly tribute of buffaloes and the boat-tax on the Malacca river; both relics of Dutch days, in return for Naning's surrender of the power of capital punishment. The British desired control of the death penalty in Naning in the interests of British subjects. But "European governments do not make treaties with their own subjects" and the British had made the 1801 treaty to control the foreign relations and secure the domestic peace of a neighbouring *semi-independent* tribute state. Had Governor Fullerton, that vigorous stickler for legal principles, kept his eye open to this elementary principle of international law and had he waited long enough to discover that the Dutch had never claimed or exercised any right of alienating land in Naning as they had in Malacca, the East India Company would have

been saved the expenditure of £100,000 on a ludicrous and humiliating campaign against the ragged creeses and rusty muskets of a few hundred Minangkabaus. But Fullerton was cursed with a headstrong adviser, Lewis, eager as himself to enforce the rigour of the law. Lewis told Fullerton that Naning was part of the territory of Malacca and, as Garling the Resident Councillor of Malacca insisted at the time, Lewis told Fullerton wrong. For six months Fullerton held his hand. Then Lewis dilated on the loss of revenue due to remission of the tithe on a rice-crop which he estimated at a million and a quarter *gantang*, and he proposed to bribe the Penghulu and chiefs with allowances to become British tax-collectors. The chiefs refused. Lewis sent his own tax-collectors who were forced to ask for military protection. The Penang Council sceptical of the Company's right to the tithe advised delay. Just then the Penghulu of Naning heard a murder case and fined the family of the *victim*. In spite of the advice of his most experienced officials Fullerton was persuaded that legally the Naning chiefs were no more than tax-collectors and village constables. He decided however to await the death of 'Abdu'l-Sayid before taking away the Penghulu's judicial powers and handing them over to Malacca's newly constituted court of judicature and he decided to refer the question of the tithe to the Directors. The Penghulu refused to meet the Governor and he obstructed a census by the Malacca Land Department. In July 1829 Fullerton sent Church, Deputy-Resident of Malacca, with a guard of sepoys to allay fears instilled into 'Abdu'l-Sayid by designing Dutch merchants at Malacca who were anxious to reap the profits of a war. Church was to tell the Penghulu that the Company had no designs on his liberty and that the collection of the tithe was deferred, though not finally dropped, and he was to avoid reference to the chief's powers of jurisdiction. So successful was this mission that 'Abdu'l-Sayid recovered from what he described as his "state of terror" and allowed the census, but by the end of 1829 other and sinister counsellors prevailed with him; he refused to meet the Governor at Malacca, and Naning prepared for war. Fullerton collected a military force to invade Naning and then, as his Councillors disagreed with his policy, stayed action for the Supreme Government to decide. 'Abdu'l-Sayid, convinced that the Governor's vacillation was due to fear, seized the fruit of certain trees claimed by Surin, a Malay Proprietor in Malacca territory. The new Governor, Ibbetson, referred this problem also to the Indian Government. In June 1830 the Directors instructed the Governor that the Company possessed sovereign rights over Naning and could legally collect tithes and exercise judicial powers within its borders but, to avoid war, the assertion of these rights was to be deferred. Ibbetson misled by Mr. Lewis answered that things had gone too far for inaction and that unless 'Abdu'l-Sayid were now forced to pay the tithe,

the Malays in Malacca territory would also refuse to pay the tithes on their produce which took the place of a land-tax. The Supreme Government left the solution to the Governor. 'Abdu'l-Sayid now demanded absolute independence. So in July 1831 150 sepoys with two six-pounders dragged by bullocks were despatched to Naning but were bogged and had their retreat impeded by the felling of trees in their rear, so that with guns lost and heavy baggage destroyed the red-coats had to retire "expeditiously" to Malacca. Persuaded that the British would attack Rembau also and supplant him by Raja Laboh, Raja 'Ali had sent his son-in-law, Sayid Sha'ban (the only brain of this and the subsequent campaign) to help Naning, and, that object effected, Sayid Sha'ban had accepted \$500 to allow the British force to retreat! Victorious, 'Abdu'l-Sayid wrote to Malacca complaining that the Assistant Resident had come with sepoys and shot down a Panglima who had been sent as an honorary escort to receive him! Actually clad in scarlet broad-blosh, brandishing a spear and whirling a sling, the Panglima had danced derisively before the British guns and having stood two rounds of grape was hit by a third in the midst of a demivolte. A dignified reply was sent to 'Abdu'l-Sayid inviting him to come to Malacca! In that town "fear whispered that every bush concealed a Malay and converted every stick into a musket barrel." On the grave of his Panglima 'Abdu'l-Sayid sacrificed six out of seven convicts captured during the 'war,' keeping the seventh to read to him the Kuran. He also proceeded to fine every Malacca village within his reach twenty reals. And on 24 October, he and his chiefs wrote to the King of England, complaining of the doings of the Malacca government.

Too late the Malacca officials at last discovered in the archives that since 1765 the Dutch had commuted the tithe into nominal tribute! Angry as Bengal was, it recognized that war was inevitable, and it approved of a rapprochement with "the ruffianly, half-clothed and poverty-stricken" chiefs of Rembau, as Captain Begbie, an eye-witness, described them. Two treaties followed, one dated 30 November 1831 and the other 28 January 1832: it was agreed that "the Rembau government will be at liberty to rule within its own territories according to the laws and usages of that country" and the British and Rembau were never to attack one another or take possession of the territory of each other. \$1,000 was offered for the apprehension of 'dul-Sayid dead or alive, and after the rains, in March 1832 a fresh force of over a thousand men set out from Malacca. That retreat this time might not be impeded by the felling of trees, the commander, Colonel Herbert, had a road 600 feet wide cut at the rate of three or four miles a month over the twenty-two miles of country to Naning's capital, Taboh. Casualties on both sides were negligible but even a jinjal shot caused the troops to stand to arms till daybreak and the Colonel was very nervous and talked of "troops

knocked up" and of acting on the defensive against an enemy who, had he known it, never numbered more than one hundred men. 'Abdu'l-Sayid threatened to hamstring all the buffaloes of any one supplying carriage to the British troops. However at the end of April, impressed by the inevitable if caterpillar advance of the British, Raja 'Ali sent from Rembau Sayid Sha'ban and a force of Malays. Sayid Sha'ban's spies had knowledge of the enemy's sporadic energy so that he could descend on deserted stockades and capture them. Thanks to this "petty chief," on June 15 Taboh the principal village was taken by surprise, 'Abdu'l-Sayid's dinner being left untouched on his mat. The Naning defence was broken. On 27 June John Anderson, author of the "Considerations" arrived from Penang as Commissioner for Naning but he died on 5 August from cerebral malaria.

Diffident about assuming the administration of the State, the Company first offered Naning to Raja 'Ali who respectfully declined. So the Company included it in Malacca territory, abolished (temporarily) the posts of Penghulu and tribal headmen and appointed a Dutch gentleman, Mr. Westerhout,* as Superintendent to collect tithes and see that criminal cases were sent to the Recorder's court. In 1833 the revenue was \$762 and the expenditure \$463; in 1835 the figures were \$1,240 and \$490! Promised a pardon 'Abdu'l-Sayid surrendered in 1834 and was given a house and garden with a pension of \$100 a month on condition that he did not leave Malacca. He lived there until August 1849 when he died, esteemed as a physician. He took to shoes and a buggy and he bought rice-fields and jewellery for his women-folk. It is not surprising that this generous treatment of a defeated foe impressed the Malays of the inland States more than the British conduct of the Naning wars.

The Naning war settled nothing in Negri Sembilan except the position of that long since "vassal" State. Immediately after the war Raja 'Ali of Rembau proclaimed himself Yam-tuan Besar of Negri Sembilan and Sayid Sha'ban Yam-tuan Muda of Rembau. But one Muhammad Katas, To' Muda of Linggi, that little fifty-year-old colony from Riau, was an enemy of Sayid Sha'ban. Fighting broke out. The Penghulu of Rembau stood aloof. Sayid Sha'ban sent a band to surprise and kill the Penghulu. Rembau and Sungai Ujong declared war, drove out Raja 'Ali and Sayid Sha'ban and elected Raja Radin to the throne of Negri Sembilan. Still petty fighting was rife. In 1844 the Governor of the Straits Settlements was recalling Sayid Sha'ban from Jementah (now in Segamat) which he and the swashbuckler Raja Kerjan had attacked carrying off 18 buffaloes: the Governor cordially congratulated the Temenggong of Muar that in this foray Raja Kerjan had been

* Dr. C. O. Blagden tells me that down to the '90s Westerhout lived in the memory of Malacca Malays as *Tuan Barchi* (= Dutch Bartje = Bartholomeus, his Christian name).

"gallantly killed." In the same year the Governor was warning To' Katas of Linggi not to listen to interested merchants like Westerhout and Neubronner and Company but to rest assured that the British government would not interfere in his tin trade. In June 1845 the Dato' Klana of Sungai Ujong reported that he and To' Katas had quarrelled in consequence of which the river Linggi was blockaded and the tin trade was stopped. The Governor begged the Klana to address him direct and not through Messrs. Neubronner, to avoid interested traders and not to let his people buy arms in Malacca: Malacca would sell arms to neither side. In the '50s the "illegal" collection of taxes on the Linggi river led to much correspondence with Rembau and Sungai Ujong. In 1851 the Penghulu of Rembau promised to make enquiries but in spite of a meeting and agreement between the Governor, the Penghulu of Rembau and the Yam-tuan, taxes were still being collected by one, Lebai Kulup, at Kuala Linggi in May 1852. The Klana, who had been no party to the agreement, was now told to stop the *lebai* from his recalcitrant feudalism. In December the Governor declined to help the Klana in a fight with Rawa Malays and emphasized that illegal river-dues were at the bottom of all his troubles. Not till August 1855 did the Klana take vigorous action and drive Lebai Kulup out of his tax-collector's stockade at Simpang on the Linggi river; though he could not get British help, the Klana surprised his enemy by using the British flag, a ruse that evoked strong gubernatorial expostulation. Till the end of 1855 the Klana was fighting and capturing feudal customs stations on the Linggi. In November 1855 the Governor issued a notice in the name of the Governor-General of Bengal prohibiting the erection of stockades on the Linggi and Ujong rivers and in 1856 the Governor promised to send a gun-boat periodically to ensure that the notice was observed. But in 1860 and 1861 one Haji Musa was imposing tolls on British craft at Lubok China, apparently with the authority of To' Sedia Raja, Penghulu of Rembau. In the south one Bujal of Muar was illegally collecting taxes from people of Sungai Ujong. In 1861 the Governor informed the Klana that Sultan 'Ali had sold Johor to the Temenggong, and he assured the Klana that the British would not trespass in Sungai Ujong or allow British subjects to take up land there. In 1862 His Excellency was begging the Klana not to destroy commerce by petty fighting. In 1865 the Penghulu of Johol wrote offering Gemencheh to the British if they would attack that mining centre and oust one Penghulu Ja'far, who offended at his leasing of the mines to Baba Bom Tiong and Towkay Cham had attacked the writer on a dark night and killed and wounded his men. The British did not want to extend their territory. In 1866 the Penghulu of Johol reported that he had paid \$300 to one Lela Mantri, another feudal tax-collector, to remove from Ayer Kunine which was British territory, but the Governor refused to meet the

bill because Leia Mantri still remained there! In 1870 Rembau made a treaty with Selangor defining the boundary at Sempang, but there was nearly war between Rembau on the one side and Sungai Ujong and Linggi on the other over this same boundary. The Dato' Muda of Linggi refused to bring the annual token of allegiance to Rembau. Rembau appealed for British arbitration (but the affair dragged on till the end of the Sungai Ujong civil war and till the settlement of the struggle between rival candidates for the office of Yam-tuan Sri Menanti put those inland States under British administration, whereupon in 1877 first Sungai Ujong and then Rembau ceded that bone of contention, Sempang, to the British). In March 1872 the Klana and the Tengku Laksamana Laut, Sayid 'Abdu'r-Rahman bin Sayid Ahmad al-Kadri, signed an agreement granting Mr. Henry Velge "Setoh, Sempadan and Rajang" for tin-mining or any other purpose, the Malay chiefs promising to protect Velge's agents and not to tax any imports but opium, and Velge engaging to pay \$4½ on every *bahar* of tin exported and to collect a tithe on the profits, if any, of the commerce in those localities, one-third of the tithe to be kept by him and two-thirds to be paid to the Klana. A vague and dangerous agreement!

Then came Sir Andrew Clarke. Downing Street had now seen that interference in the Malay States was inevitable in the cause of Malayan peace and Malayan trade. On 21 April 1874 the Klana, Sayid 'Abdu'r-Rahman al-Kadri, and the Dato' Muda of Linggi signed the following engagement:

"Whereas disturbances have at various times existed in the territory of Sungai Ujong, and whereas certain evil-disposed persons, without colour of right, have at various times placed stockades on the banks of the River Linggi, and have thereby force of arms prevented the free passage of peaceful traders with their merchandise up and down the said river, and whereas the British Government is willing, at the request of the Chief of Sungai Ujong, and for the protection of the interests of its subjects, for the advancement of trade, and for the prosperity of the said territory to extend its guarantee to the Government of the said territory; And whereas the recognized Chief of the said territory of Sungai Ujong has endeavoured to free the said river of such persons and their unlawful exactions and to that end has ordered a supply of warlike arms and ammunition now lying in Singapore under embargo; And whereas it has been represented to his Excellency the Governor of the Straits Settlements that the said Chief is desirous of again attempting to free the said river, to the end that the trade therein may be restored and increased, and for this purpose has asked that the supply of arms and ammunition should be given up to him, to be taken to the said territory of Sungai Ujong, and the said Governor, while anxious to aid the said Chief in his own lawful purpose of clearing the said river from all impediments to

free passage thereon, considers it necessary, before acceding to the request of the said Chief, as to the giving up to him of the said arms and ammunition, and extending to him the protection of the British Government, that there should be good and sufficient guarantees that the said arms and ammunition should not be used for purposes dangerous to the peace of the said territory, and injurious to the interests of traders and others frequenting the said territory, and that the Government of the said territory will be carried on by the said Chief and his officers, on principles of justice and equity, and that the lives and properties of such traders and persons shall be duly protected by the said Chief and his officers; and whereas the said Chief and certain of his officers are willing to enter into an obligation to that effect:

" Now these presents witness that we, whose names and seals are hereunder set, do acknowledge ourselves to be held and firmly bound to Her Majesty Victoria, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, and so forth, in the penal sum of 50,000 dollars, to be paid to Her said Majesty, Her heirs, and successors, for which payment to be well and truly made we bind ourselves and each of us our successors in office, and our and each of us our successors in office, and our and each of our heirs, executors, and administrators, and any one, two, or more of them. And, on the understanding that so long as the conditions of this obligation are faithfully kept by the said Chief and his officers, the moral and material guarantee and protection of the British Government will be accorded to them to secure the independence, peace and prosperity of the territory of Sungai Ujong.

" The condition of the above written obligation is such that if the said obligors and each of them, their and each of their heirs and successors, shall in all things well and truly carry on the Government of the territory of Sungai Ujong, in so far as lies in the power of them, and each of them, on principles of justice and equity, and will protect from injustice and oppression all persons frequenting the said territory and passing up and down the said River Linggi, peacefully engaged in their lawful avocations, and will keep the said River Linggi open to lawful traffic and commerce, and will prevent any persons from interfering with the free passage of the river, and from exacting duties or taxes on the navigation of the said river, under any pretext or pretence whatever, other than the fair and reasonable duties and taxes originally put on the navigation of such rivers, for the protection and convenience of traders, by the authority of the recognised Chief of the said territory, and with the sanction and the approval of the Government of the Straits Settlements, and, on the requisition of the said Government will give up any offenders against the laws of the said Settlements who may have taken refuge in, or be found in, the said territory, and will not give refuge to the enemies of the British Government, or of States and

Chiefs in alliance with, and at peace with, the British Government, and will not permit such persons to form or attempt to form expeditions, or to collect men or arms in the said territory of Sungai Ujong against the British Government or against the friends and allies of the British Government, and that they will give early and true information to the British Government of all events of political and mercantile importance happening in the said territory, and that the Station, District or Settlement at Sempang, with all the river bank on both sides of the River Linggi, from Sempang as far as Permatang Pasir, shall be placed under the control, order, and direction of the British Government; then this obligation to be void, otherwise to remain in full force and effect."

The Bandar was a strong old-fashioned ruler, popular with Malays as the harbourer of notable refugees from Selangor: the Klana was mild and unpopular as a friend of the British. On 28 August 1874 the Klana wrote to Sir Andrew Clarke promising to build roads and a gaol and asking that Mr. Isemonger, Magistrate Malacca, should be made Resident. The 80 year old Bandar was no party to British intervention and as he threatened trouble, a force of 60 police and 44 coolies went with Mr. Pickering of the Chinese protectorate, to settle the differences between him and Klana Putra. On Sunday 10 October, 1874, a flagstaff "as large as a schooner's main-mast" was erected by the Klana's house at Ampangan and on the next day the British flag was hoisted to a salute of 21 guns: a pot of incense was burnt at the foot of the flagstaff and an old Haji knelt and recited prayers. But still the Bandar refused to meet either the Klana or the Governor: for years he had treated the Klana as a puppet, had usurped the chief power over Sungai Ujong and had levied taxes at will till the 10,000 Chinese were tired of his exactions. The Klana started to attack his rival's strongholds but the mere presence of Raja Mahmud a warrior refugee from Selangor in the Bandar's ranks dissipated all the Malays whom the Klana had collected and left him only a small force of Straits police, 20 Arab, Turk and Egyptian mercenaries and 2 Somali negroes armed with spear and shield!* However this small force aided by Tengku Abu of Tampin

* Note.—"The Arab contingent was raised in Singapore. They were a hundred strong and armed with Snider rifles and bayonets, with parangs and axes for jungle work. They were recruited from the Arab firemen on shore in the various seamen's lodging-houses, and were the scum of the Red Sea ports. This Arab contingent was officered by a Mr. De Fontain, who received a commission as captain, and a Mr. C. Robinson, commissioned as lieutenant.

"The Arabs were used as the advance guard of the regular troops, the 1st battalion of the 10th Regiment, stationed in Singapore, Penang and Malacca. The Arabs suffered severely before the European troops could get up to them, and they never retired on the main body, which was a mistake; but then jungle warfare is somewhat different to any other kind of warfare.

"The Arab contingent went through Negri Sembilan to Perak, and were present at the storming of the stockades at Batu Gajah. The contingent was disbanded when the fighting was over. Its members received the Perak War medal and sums of money. Capt. De Fontain received an inspectorship in the Straits Police, but resigned after a few years to take up an appointment in British North Borneo. He was killed one day when out with an armed party after a notorious outlaw."—*Malay Mail*, 1903.

took Rasak and Rahang. At last 84 British soldiers of the 10th, 20 artillermen and 54 men of the *Charybdis* arrived. On 28 November the Bandar wrote to the Governor that, while he appreciated the British flag, he objected to not having been consulted by the Klan: on 14 October the Klan aided by white men had attacked and captured Rasak with its guns, weapons and buffaloes, on 11 November had made a night attack on his house at Kepayang and on 18 November had burnt Rahang. On 30 November the Bandar's deputy agreed that the old chief should surrender, go to Singapore and defray the cost of the war, leaving Sayid 'Abdu'r-Rahman (alias Aman) to rule Sungai Ujong. On 16 December the To' Bandar acknowledged his war-guilt and surrendered his tired bitter old person.

Hardly quit of the Bandar, Sayid 'Abdu'r-Rahman was attacked by Yam-tuan Antah who was urged and abetted by the Penghulu of Ulu Muar and the chiefs round Sri Menanti, disapprovers of the Klan's friendly relations with the British and with Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, son of Yamtuan Imam (who had died in 1869) and claimant to his throne but not his elected successor. The troops in Sungai Ujong when Sir William Jervois assumed office as Governor had to be increased before the end of 1875 to some 150 infantry and a detachment of artillery to deal with disturbances in Sri Menanti and Jempul. There was a little guerilla skirmishing. A British officer won the V.C. for leaping over a stockade on a Friday (one of the Malays' many days of rest), and driving a few Malays away from their cooking pots. By January 1876 military forces were withdrawn from everywhere except Sungai Ujong. In April the Governor wrote to Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, reporting that Rembau, Johor and Sungai Ujong were strongly opposed to the appointment of another Yam-tuan Besar and, if forced to accept one, would probably back out of the friendly treaties they were disposed to make. He had suggested Sultan 'Ali (of Muar) for the office but the Dato' of Rembau had replied that Sultan 'Ali could be of no more use than a coconut palm. Jervois now proposed that Tengku Ahmad Tunggal be made Malay Captain of Sri Menanti, Ulu Muar and Jempul with a British Agent as his adviser: to put the three States under the British Agent at Sungai Ujong would look like putting the Yam-tuan under the Klan. In June the "proud truculent-looking" Tengku Antah surrendered at Johor and promised the Governor to bring in the chiefs of Johor, Ulu Muar, Terachi and Gunong Pasir, to whose bad counsel he ascribed his attack on Sungai Ujong. In August Lord Carnarvon replied, rejecting the proposal for a Malay Captain and a British Agent at Sri Menanti: Malacca had a barrier of friendly and orderly States to protect its borders and Her Majesty's Government were "unwilling to allow any further extension of the system of Residents until they shall have had further experience of the working of those

already established." By October the Dato' of Ulu Muar had surrendered and troops were retained only in Sungai Ujong. On 23 November 1876 Tengku Antah "still determined in appearance but courteous and dignified" brought all the chiefs who supported him to Government House and an agreement was signed recognizing Antah as Yam-tuan not of the whole country but over Sri Menanti, Johol, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Inas, and promising to refer any disputes for the arbitration of the Maharaja of Johor.

Not only did the little States round Sri Menanti agree to refer their differences to the Maharaja of Johor: early in 1877 the Lela Maharaja of Rembau and the Yam-tuan of Jelebu signed similar treaties. In July 1877, when the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Douglas) made a tour up the Muar river, he found that Enche' Andak, the Maharaja's man at Muar, "was away in Sri Menanti, having been sent up as a sort of Resident of those States by the Maharaja"; on 23 July Che' Andak was at Segamat with Yam-tuan Antah who was awaiting the arrival of the Maharaja. Rembau was the first to repudiate this Johor suzerainty. As Governor Sir Frederick Weld discovered, the Rembau treaty of 1877 had been signed by the territorial chief only and not by the tribal headmen and was therefore invalid. Haji Sahil, the Lela Maharaja, had in fact contracted the treaty with the Maharaja of Johor, when the Maharaja was on a visit to Rembau, because Haji Sahil was at loggerheads with his tribal headmen and the treaty enabled him to get titles and money from Johor. In 1883 the Rembau tribes deposed Haji Sahil and chose the Governor as their arbiter in place of the Maharaja of Johor.

As for Jelebu, the Penghulu and his tribal headmen were furious with their Yam-tuan Muda 'Abdu'llah for having dared to sign the quite innocent but unconstitutional treaty of 1877 without their consent and collaboration. Besides the Yam-tuan Muda committed the enormity of executing a man without trial by the Penghulu and headmen. It was decided to "root him up." But several of the headmen were on the Yam-tuan's side and though the Penghulu rooted them up and appointed others in their stead, they did not wither but started to intrigue with Pahang. After several years of bloodshed and disturbance, the Yam-tuan Muda and the Penghulu applied separately to the Governor to arbitrate over their quarrel, to send a British Resident to Jelebu and to settle the boundary between Jelebu and Pahang. His Excellency decided that it was inexpedient as yet to send a Resident to Jelebu. As for the Yam-tuan Muda he had been recognized by a treaty and his uprooting had not been reported to the British Government nor did it appear effectual. But in consideration of an allowance of \$100 a month, he agreed not to take part in the ordinary administration or to claim dues that had hitherto belonged to the commoner chiefs or to interfere with the transport of tin

to Sungai Ujong or elsewhere. But again in January 1884 the Yam-tuan 'Abdu'llah was required to sign a bond undertaking not to meddle in administration. Owing to the disturbances mile after mile of homesteads and rice-fields were deserted. In December 1884 Yam-tuan 'Abdu'llah died. There were three claimants for the little throne of Jelebu. In June 1885 the first British collector arrived and the Penghulu asked for the abolition of the office of Yam-tuan Muda, whereupon it was decided not to elect another holder. In September 1886 the Penghulu, Sayid 'Ali bin Zin al-Jairi, in conjunction with the lesser chiefs, signed a treaty surrendering the conduct of Jelebu's foreign affairs to the British and the collection of royalty on tin and of other revenue as well as the alienation of land and civil and criminal jurisdiction to the British officer of whose continued assistance they asked to be assured.

In 1887 the chiefs of Rembau signed another treaty, leaving all revenue matters and certain civil and criminal jurisdiction to an officer appointed by the Governor of the Straits Settlements: one-third of the revenue was to be paid to the Penghulu in council for the benefit of himself and other chiefs entitled to participate. In 1889 the rulers of Rembau and Tampin joined the Sri Menanti confederacy of 1887 to make a confederation of Nine States, the number being reached by the inclusion of Gemencheh as a separate State: all placed themselves under British protection. There was now one British Resident for Sri Menanti, Rembau and Tampin, and another for Sungai Ujong and Jelebu. In 1895 the Yam-tuan Besar of Sri Menanti together with the rulers of Johol, Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Rembau and Tampin placed their States under British protection, formed a confederation of six States that were to bear the historic name of Nine States and asked for a British Resident. In this treaty Sri Menanti and Johol signed for and included the little States of Ulu Muar, Terachi, Jempul, Gunong Pasir, Inas and Gemencheh. In 1898 the four great chiefs of Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Johol and Rembau elected the son of Antah Yam-tuan Besar of Sri Menanti to be Yam-tuan Besar of the whole of Negri Sembilan, namely Sungai Ujong, Jelebu, Johol, Rembau, Ulu Muar, Terachi, Jempul, Gunong Pasir and Inas. The Yang di-pertuan Besar was not to interfere in the customs of the country or in Muhammadan law and every matter that arose in each State was to be settled in consultation with the Resident. Only if any one of the four great signatories appealed to the Yang di-pertuan Besar to settle a boundary, might His Highness intervene. The office was to remain elective but every Yam-tuan was to be one of the royal princes.

PART II.

THE MINANGKABAU POLITY.

MOTHER-RIGHT AND THE TRIBES.

MOTHER-RIGHT.

In Negri Sembilan the terms of relationship employed by the endogamous Malays of other States are used to express only relationship on the paternal side, relationship which the Minangkabau constitution has never recognized. Relationship by Minangkabau custom is purely matrilineal, and there is a special word (*sanak*) for a blood relation on the distaff side. Children of a man by different wives or children of one's mother's brothers, being children of tribes other than one's own, are described by a different term; tribal brotherhood, sisterhood and cousinship being reckoned only through mothers. Even when a woman's children marry, still they reckon their parents-in-law only on the female side: a father-in-law is not included in the matrilineal conception of the family. For aunts- and uncles-in-law one has not the brothers and sisters of one's bride's or groom's father but those of one's bride's or groom's mother.

Relationship is tribal, of the mother's tribe. Every woman on the maternal side is a child's 'mother,' if she is of the generation of the child's mother, his or her grandmother if she is of the generation of the child's grandmother.

Sub-tribes *Pérut*—*womb*) are the smallest exogamous units: generally for convenience taking (like many tribes) territorial names, so that one will be for example a member of the Banyan-Tree-hamlet sub-tribe of the Flat-Plain tribe. The inability of two sub-tribes to trace their descent to a common ancestress is their sanction for intermarriage. Outlawry and confiscation of property were the penalties for 'incest,' as marriage within a prohibited sub-tribe or tribe was called. Marriage or a liaison during his wife's life with another woman of her tribe used to be punishable with death but marriage with a deceased wife's sister is allowed and is in fact a common practice, seeing that it makes for the welfare of the children of the tribe. The children of a brother and sister, as belonging to the two different tribes of their mothers, can intermarry. The marriage of the children of sisters is, of course, prohibited, and (as with the Khasis) the marriage of the children of brothers, even though the wives of these brothers came of different tribes, is forbidden. In spite of Islam and the rubber booms monogamy, the surest guarantee that the tribeswoman and her children will be properly supported, is the general rule: "a second marriage destroys half the man's value as a tribal asset."

"On marriage a man passes from his mother's tribe to become a lodger in his wife's house." "A woman's tribal chief may refuse to accept a suitor to her hand into his tribe. Refusal to accept his marriage fee disposes of a suitor's chance. If man and woman persist, notwithstanding opposition, in marriage, they

have no option but to flee the country." These sentences from Messrs. Parr & Mackray's "Rembau" express universal conditions. Tribal sayings show how a bridegroom is regarded by his wife's relations as an asset to their tribe. A particularly good set of these sayings hails from Jelebu and a particularly good translation of them has been made by Mr. Andrew Caldecott, formerly district officer there:—

*When we receive a man as a bridegroom,
If he is strong, he shall be our champion;
If a fool, he will be ordered about
To invite guests distant and collect guests near;
Clever and we'll invite his counsel;
Learned and we will ask his prayers;
Rich and we'll use his gold;
If lame, he shall scare chicken,
If blind, he shall pound the mortar,
If deaf, he shall fire our salutes.
If you enter a byre, low;
If you enter a goat's pen, bleat;
Follow the customs of your wife's family,
When you tread the soil of a country and live beneath
its sky,
Follow the customs of that country.
A bridegroom among his wife's relations
Is like a soft cucumber against thorny durian fruits.
If he rolls against them, he is hurt,
And he is hurt, if they roll against him.*

Mr. de Moubray's book on "Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula" notes as remarkable that "a man on marriage becomes seconded to his wife's tribe and sub-tribe and becomes subject to her tribal officers." He ascribes this to the development of parental households, consequent on the migration from Sumatra, households where the father and mother lived together, whereas in Minangkabau wife and husband continued to live in their own maternal homes easily subject to their own tribal officers. In parental homes husband and wife belonged to two different tribes: were the chiefs of both tribes to keep an eye on them? The problem, he suggests, was solved by secluding the husband to his wife's tribe. But there can be no question that the facts support another writer on Rembau, Mr. E. N. Taylor when he says:—"a man definitely passes into his wife's tribe and becomes subject to her tribal chief *in all matters affecting her and her family*. Every married man, even a tribal chief has two capacities. *He remains a member of his own tribe for certain limited purposes* but he is definitely subject to his wife's tribal chief in all matters affecting her tribe. This is beyond doubt: the sole exception is the *Undang*" or territorial chief, survivor of the old patriarchal Malacca constitution, who is above all tribal chiefs. In Malay

days if a married man committed wilful murder or even accidental homicide, it was the slayer's tribe and his own tribal officer who had to compensate the tribe that had lost a member by the gift of a member of the slayer's own tribe, his sister's child generally; it was not his wife's tribe or her tribal officer. Obviously under a system of mother-right, wherever the married couple live whether in their separate maternal homes or together, the husband has to be under his wife's tribal officer so far as she and her children are concerned. The husband's own tribal chief cannot, for example, interfere in the wife's disposition of her tribal property, property that does not belong to his tribe, or again in the marriage of her children who do not belong to his tribe. But in Negri Sembilan tribal offices were always held by men, never by women, and a husband will be elected an elder or a chief for his own tribe, never for his wife's tribe.

Not until the customary law of property comes to be considered (p. 83) will all the consequences and advantages of belonging to a tribe be apparent. Yet already it must be clear that there would be no place for an immigrant who did not "bellow" mother-right in the Minangkabau "byre," and this brings us to adoption. Under the system of mother-right, only a woman can adopt any one into a tribe.* The person adopted may be of either sex, of any age and of any race. Adoption cannot be revoked.

For full adoption (*adat dan pesaka*). If a girl is adopted by a woman of her own sub-tribe (mostly because the woman is old and childless or her daughters are married and cannot care for her), only the consent of her heirs is essential. If both parties are of the same tribe but not of the same sub-tribe, then the heirs must consent, the tribal chief may attend and in some places the parties will dip their fingers into a bowl of blood, but the absence of the tribal chief and the omission of the blood-rite do not invalidate the full adoption. If the parties are of different tribes, then the chiefs, at least of the two tribes concerned, must be present and (at any rate if the adoptee is a girl and there has been a dispute) the territorial chief will attend, a buffalo will be slaughtered and except where it has died out the blood-rite will be performed:—in Jelebu the forehead of the person adopted is marked with the blood. Full adoption gives a woman (and her children, whether born before or after adoption) all the rights of inheritance and all the responsibilities belonging to the natural daughters and grandchildren of her adopter. A man if fully adopted becomes eligible for office in his adopting tribe. When a tribe had

* Note.—Remban provides one instance of a tribesman adopting a man's second wife as his sister so that she should look after the children of the man's first deceased wife (the adopter's natural sister) qua their tribeswoman. The husband had broken the rule of monogamy, having married the second wife, a foreigner of patriarchal stock, during the lifetime of the first.

to give a murdered person's tribe a substitute for the dead, the substitution had to be complete so that the child given was admitted to the rights of full adoption.

Limited adoption (*adat pada lembaga*) of a girl of one's own sub-tribe or tribe gives her not a natural child's right of inheritance but only property expressly declared and bestowed during the life of the adoptive mother: such property may even be entailed ancestral property, if the *waris* agree,—and they cannot object to a childless woman adopting a suitable relative. Evidence for such adoption is admission by the consenting tribal chief and any other chiefs present, the disposition of property by the adoptive mother and also the circumstance whether after the alleged adoption the girl was married from the house of her real mother or from the house of her adoptive mother. Limited adoption of a girl of another tribe, if practised at all, was rare and only occurred when the *waris* of the adoptive mother had refused to sanction the full adoption of some poor girl by a rich woman: it neither entitled her to ancestral property nor her descendants to office, so that no girl with property in her own tribe would entertain it. Limited adoption of a tribesman would have been such a change for the worse that it never happened, but limited adoption of a foreigner used in Malay times to be a preliminary to his settling among the Minangkabau tribes or to his marriage with a tribeswoman, so that he should be subject to the jurisdiction of some tribal chief: he could not marry into his adoptive tribe without committing 'incest,' but he got no vote, was ineligible for office and could not have even a life interest in ancestral land. Evidence for such adoption was the presence of the territorial chief, the blood-rite and a public feast.

THE TRIBES.

The sub-tribe must have arisen not from any attempt to evade the rules of exogamy but because tribes became too large and later perhaps too scattered for one tribal chief to serve them without assistance:—the lesser size of the sub-tribe facilitated, for example, the distribution of property on death to the rightful heirs. When a common ancestress is remembered for two or more sub-tribes, none of the members of any of them can intermarry. Even a whole tribe may be debarred from marriage with another tribe. The tribes being of the same descent, a Sri Lemak tribe in Terachi may not intermarry with a Sri Lemak tribe in Muar. Two of the pioneer Rembau tribes are debarred from intermarriage because they are descended from half-brothers.

The word for tribe *suku* means literally quarter and it has been surmised that in Minangkabau a State or country arose from the commingling of four tribes, two of which had the *jus connubii* with the other two. In Rembau it is related that of the original

colonists one chief brought over from Sumatra the Batu Hampar and Mungkal tribes and another the Payakumboh and Tiga Nenek tribes. These tribes settled downstream and had an original council of four chiefs. Later four more tribes settled upstream and there was formed a council of eight chiefs. Still later twelve more tribes were added, whose chiefs gained no real share in the constitution. Even if the lists had to be faked, multiples of four appealed to the framers of the Rembau constitution as to those of nearly all the States.

Most of the Negri Sembilan tribes have Minangkabau names. But as time passed and numbers grew these plain designations became inadequate so that we get subdivisions, due to local settlements and local migrations, such as the "Sri Lemak tribe that came from Minangkabau" and the "Sri Lemak tribe that came from Pahang," or, "the Biduanda tribe that came from Sungai Ujong" and so on. For not only is there one tribe for Achinese and another for Malacca folk who have "bellowed" when they entered the Minangkabau "byre" and have adopted mother-right, but there is also that most interesting of all the tribes, bearing a name unknown in Minangkabau, the Biduanda tribe.

The name Biduanda occurs in four contexts. The "Chinese Biduanda" was a title given by the Malay Sultans of Malacca (before the Portuguese had captured that port) to early Chinese settlers there. Biduanda is also the name of a proto-Malay tribe in Negri Sembilan, aborigines who have always sought the protection of powerful neighbours, so that the tribe may well have got from the Malacca Sultans a honorific that means 'followers' and was applied to non-Malays:—today it is the Johor word for police probationers! It is also the name of a tribe treated by the Minangkabau colonists as the premier tribe though in their homelands all tribes were equal and none had supremacy. A section of the tribe was descended from early patriarchal Malacca exploiters of the hinterland and some—if this is not a Minangkabau fiction—from proto-Malay women married to matrilineal Minangkabau settlers whose coming antedated authentic history. In States like Naning and Rembau, Minangkabau strongholds in close contact for centuries with the civilisation of Malacca, the aboriginal woman has long been no more than the heroine of the matrilineal theory, a survival in culture. Inland in Johol and Jelebu where the Minangkabaus were less civilised and the aborigines abounded, proto-Malay influence has been strong and to prove their descent and title to land from these "antediluvian families, fellows that the flood" of emigration from the continent of Asia "could not wash away," Jelebu chiefs cherish among their insignia proto-Malay women's trinkets and those proto-Malay headmen the Batins are asked to sanction the election of Johol's territorial chief. In Johol and Jempul, the Minangkabau rule of exogamy is not in

force for the Biduanda tribe and all its sub-tribes can intermarry! As the Jelebu sayings frankly admit of their early colonists:—

*Then we met the Batin chieftain
And forsook our older custom.*

They go on to describe the political theory and actual late local practice of their acquisition of land: "the Batin and his assistant scored the trees that marked the boundaries, the *waris* dragged the cord of survey, the territorial chief (head of the *waris*) fixed the price and the Minangkabau tribal headman hammered in the boundary marks." "Dull-witted" says a Malay proverb, "are the men of Minangkabau who have no footing on the sea" and here they were hoodwinked by a simple jungle-tribe!

Sometimes the Biduanda tribe claims wrongly to be called the *waris* tribe. In Negri Sembilan the Arabic word *waris* has four meanings. It is used by Kadlis for inheritors under Muslim law, and by tribal authorities for inheritors under mother-right. It is used loosely of the whole Biduanda tribe, whose members are always anxious to arrogate to themselves the rights and perquisites of certain families in that tribe. It is used properly of those few families that still provide the big territorial chiefs, descendants of the earliest chiefs in the country, delegates or relatives of the great patriarchal Bendaharas or viziers of the old Malay kingdom of Malacca in the fifteenth century. These Malaca families were the owners of what the Minangkabau colonists wanted, "the land from the trickle of the watershed down to the waves breaking at the river-mouth" but the theory of mother-right has introduced the proto-Malay woman and played havoc with traditional history. *Waris* land, even when leased to a tenant, was exempt from attachment by a Minangkabau tribe, though the land of a Minangkabau tribe could be attached by the *waris*. Would civilised Minangkabau be so altruistic in dealings with aborigines? Would they have paid higher fees, too, for an aboriginal bride than for one of their own women? No member of a *waris* tribe ever demeans herself or himself or gives up her or his prerogatives by accepting adoption into a Minangkabau tribe—a thing a naked savage would have been proud to do! In Rembau if homicide was committed, the slayer's tribe (unless it were a *waris* tribe!) had to compensate the tribe of the slain by giving it one of its own members: but if the slain were of a *waris* tribe, five substitutes had to be given. To any one who knows the people it is incredible that Minangkabau Malays should not claim a substitute for their dead from aborigines, whose women they claim to have abducted for wives, and should have compensated a half-aboriginal (or to their matrilineal ideas aboriginal) tribe by giving five Malays for the life of one proto-Malay! But all these privileges and perquisites would be proper for representatives of the great Bendaharas of old Malacca, merged and lost though they are in a matrilineal tribe with a name now interpreted to mean aboriginal!

THE TRIBAL LAW OF PROPERTY.

Whether early Minangkabau tribes recognised, as Mr. de Moubray postulates, no property at all other than communal property, is an insoluble problem and the postulate a very doubtful theory. Such a postulate carries us back to promiscuity, a term covering so many forms of sexual relationship as to be devoid of definite import, and it carries us back beyond the bird-stage of evolution, seeing that birds are proved to have a keen sense of property. In the Malay Peninsula, as tribal sayings show, Minangkabau custom formerly distinguished between the property of a tribe and the personal property of a member of a tribe, recognised, to quote Malinowski, that "property, which is but one form of legal relationship, is neither purely individualistic nor communal, but always mixed." Today? Mr. de Moubray's liking for clean-cut steps of evolution has led him to stress "individualised female ownership as the great characteristic of the peninsular system." Actually the facts do no more than prove a distinction by present custom between the ancestral property of an individual, of which her tribe has no usufruct but almost absolute control, and personal property of which the individual *while alive* has usufruct and absolute control, though after the original owner's death it is apt normally to become at any rate in the third generation ancestral.

*Stretches of rice-field
Old betel-nut palms
Ancestral coconut-palms
Belong to the tribal chief.*

—this old saying enunciates the theory that property belongs to the tribes rather than to individual members of the tribes. Another saying shows what tribal action is still taken, if the woman holder (who is clearly no more than her tribe's trustee for her lifetime) attempts to dispose of ancestral property by sale or to charge it—

*Her next-of-kin can approve or prevent;
If there are heiresses or heirs they can find the money
And subscribe to save the tail;
If there are next of kin, they can bar the sale;
If the property has an owner, the sale is quashed;
If there is a tribal headman, he can quash it.*

It looks as if, formerly so long as there was a member of the tribe left, sale outside the tribe was forbidden. Today only to meet certain customary debts it may be allowed. But the next-of-kin, that is children and grandchildren, can still bar sale or charge, while indirect collateral heiresses, though they cannot bar them if the direct heiresses consent, yet have the option of purchase or of lending the sum required and taking the land as security. Custom grants this preemption, first to relatives in order of matrilineal nearness, failing them to members of the sub-tribe

and failing them to members, female or even male, of the tribe. Rather than let the land be lost to the tribe, its chief will do his best to persuade the vendor to take a lower price from a member of her own tribe than she could get in the open market. The only person to whom a land-owner can convey ancestral land by gift to the detriment of natural heiresses is a woman whom she has fully adopted into her tribe, but this creates no departure from the general principle: once tribal land, always tribal land.

Ancestral property devolves *per stirpes* to daughters or their direct descendants. If a daughter has died whose share would have been one-half, her two daughters get a quarter each or if there are three of them, a sixth each. And so on, without limit to the right of inheritance in the direct line. As among the Khasis the mother's house is ordinarily inherited by the youngest daughter who undertakes in return to look after her in her old age. Her sisters must help her to keep this house in repair but she cannot sell or charge it without their approval. Failing direct heirs, a woman's ancestral property goes to her sisters and her sisters' daughters and granddaughters and even to great-great-granddaughters. But if the nearest female relatives are cousins removed beyond the fourth degree the property may be sold and the proceeds paid to male heirs in default of female heirs of the same degree. Moreover now in most of the States male heirs may claim life-tenancy of ancestral lands:—for example in the absence of daughters a son or in the absence of granddaughters grandsons.

Another form of ancestral property is prized weapons, ornaments and clothing. Some of these heirlooms are used by the men, but their title to that use comes through mothers and sisters. A man comes into possession of creese or spear through his mother. On his death the weapon goes not to his son (who is of another tribe) but back to his mother for the use of her next son, or back to his sister for the use of the eldest son or, if his sister is dead, to his niece, her daughter, for the use of the niece's eldest son or eldest brother.

CRIMINAL LAW.

Minangkabau custom divided crime into categories that do not fit with modern ideas. Elders of the sub-tribes could try cases of assault, involving a wound or a broken skin,—provided the scar was on a part of the body hidden by the clothing! They could inflict a small fine but the main business was to hold a feast of reconciliation. Assault involving permanent disfigurement and crimes that we regard as more serious than pilfering and cheating, cases of grievous hurt involving loss of sight, broken bones and ruptured sinews, were all within the jurisdiction of the tribal chief. He again could fine offenders (for the good of his budget) but again his main business was to reconcile the parties. Mr. Caldecott has given us the Jelebu procedure for a feast of reconciliation. "Restitution was in ratio to the amount of blood shed. If the man wounded lost little blood, a fowl was given by his assailant; if much, a goat. It was thought that no men could lose more than a goat's measure of blood and live. The animal was cooked and the flesh presented to the aggrieved party. The offender took half a cupful of blood of the animal slain; a handful of rice and three limes. He took the injured party to a stream or well and anointed his head first with blood, then with rice and finally with juice of the limes to cleanse away the unsavoury chrism of blood and rice." The same principle, as we have seen, was applied in cases of homicide, even accidental homicide. The chief of the tribe which had suffered the loss of a member chose a substitute of the same sex from the slayer's tribe; and the wife and children of the slayer (if he were married) had to defray the cost of the funeral of the deceased. If slayer and slain were of the same tribe so that restitution in kind were impossible, the slayer's family paid a fine of one buffalo and fifty bushels of husked rice. The territorial chief might sentence the murderer himself to be creased or to be outlawed.

For custom has enumerated a list of capital crimes that were offences not against the tribe but against the State, so that the tribal headmen had no jurisdiction and had to arrest the offender and deliver him bound for trial before the Undang, who could pronounce the extreme penalty of death by the creese. The creese thrust through shoulder to heart shed no blood: only the Yam-tuan could order the shedding of blood by the headman's sword. Conviction of a capital crime involved also confiscation of property and if the offender held office loss of that office. British protection has abolished treason and disorder. It does not recognize as 'incest' breach of exogamous rules or a man's liaison with a woman of the same tribe as his wife—

Two familiar spirits in one household

Two ladders against one sugar-palm

as the custom describes such a liaison. What was cheating under Malay custom is sometimes a civil offence under the English law

of contract. Robbery and theft, arson, homicide, criminal breach of trust and obtaining money by false pretences are now tried in courts instituted by the protecting power and under the Indian Penal Code. The Indian Code cares nothing for tribal losses and compensation in the form of fowls, goats and sister's sons; under its provisions to compound serious offences is forbidden. All cases too are tried in accordance with the English law of evidence, which is very different from the Malay principles:—

*Customary law requires signs of guilt,
Muslim law calls for witnesses.
Lighting upon circumstances observed
Custom throws a wide net to catch the offender;
In clear cases it has a sure footing;
If the problem be high, it uses a ladder,
If it be hard, it cleaves into it,
If it be soft, it ladies.
'There is a clear case' says custom,
When there is evidence of guilt and
When a man is chased from the scene of crime and found
panting;
When he has hacks and cuts;
If evidence is at hand, it can be shown,
If it is ajar, it can be related.*

Even wider in scope are such general legal maxims as—

*Branches break because horn-bills pass by,
Where danger abights, danger must fly away;
One who has passed through flames is scorched;
One who has rubbed against a poisonous stem itches,
One who has shaken a tree is drenched with dew.*

The 'ladder' of Minangkabau jurisprudence was used to inspect the 'broken branch,' its 'ladie' to catch the 'dew' on the offender's garment, its 'cast-net' to catch 'danger flying away.' Or again, take the circumstantial evidence for theft:—

*The strut set against a house-pillar,
The partition ripped open,
The pursuit and the prisoner panting,
The booty snatched and wrested;
The wounded or hacked person,
The fluttering heart, the foot-prints,
The lie, the crooked story.*

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

The Minangkabau principle of "reading from *alif* and counting from one" is a good guide if one wants to grasp the political system of the Nine States with its nice gradation of officers from the head of a household through the elder of the sub-tribe and the head of the tribe and the territorial chief up to the Yam-tuan, supreme arbiter in constitutional and judicial questions between the territories. Leaving aside those purely family household heads, "one's wife's relations," the lowest rung on the political ladder is filled by the elder of the sub-tribe.

THE ELDER (BUAPA).

Every sub-tribe (*pérut*) has according to its size one or more elders (*buapa*), elected by its members and approved by the tribal chief, who can dismiss them at will. The tribal chief is described in tribal sayings as a hawk but the elder rather irreverently as a chattering myna bird whose province is not tribal lands like that of the tribal chief but the disputatious tribal folk. Whereas no one may slaughter a buffalo without inviting the tribal chief, no one may slaughter a goat without inviting the elder. When an elder dies, he is entitled like all his betters to a coffin of betel-palm, whereas the ordinary person has a coffin of bamboo! Every elder must be aware of the family relationships, the extra-tribal acquisitions and payments, the quarrels and misdeeds of the members of his sub-tribe. While the tribal chief is expressly concerned with tribal lands, the elder is the proper qualified witness for all formal payments made to or by a member of the sub-tribe, the declaration of a husband's private property at marriage and its return at divorce. Before the days of British protection, he like the tribal and territorial chiefs and the Yam-tuan, had his own defined jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases. Today he sanctions the mildest form of irregular marriage and reports to the tribal chief more serious forms. Failure to report offences beyond his jurisdiction makes him a traitor to the tribal chief and renders him liable to dismissal. Under the constitution the tribal chief appointed a magnate (*besar*) to spy on his elders, just as the territorial chief appointed a magnate to spy on him! The way of the corrupt was hard.

THE TRIBAL CHIEF (LEMBAGA).

The tribal chief*, above all others, is concerned with the preservation of the system of mother-right. The Yam-tuan's descent from Alexander the Great is recorded in chronicles common to the whole Malay world; the territorial chief has his written genealogy that carries him outside Minangkabau history and links him with

* Note.—In tribal sayings he is also called *tua*. Only in Sungai Ujong, where Minangkabau custom is weak, has the term *lembaga* been applied improperly to lesser territorial chiefs.

the patriarchal chiefs of Malacca and Johor; but the tribal chief's origin and place in the constitution are recorded only in songs and sayings learnt by heart from his Minangkabau forebears in order to conserve intact the system of mother-right.

Wary "as a hawk" for the family relationships and doings of his tribe he must attend betrothals and marriages, feasts, the puberty ceremonies of circumcision and ear-boring, and formal invitations if they are accompanied by presents of rice, borne of two by day and of four by night. Only when he attends a feast, may a buffalo be slaughtered: for he must be present at every public ceremony that attracts all the tribe as witnesses.

He is the guardian of the property of the tribe:—

*The stretches of rice-field,
The path over the knolls in the swamps,
The old betel-nut palms,
The ancestral coconut palms,
Belong to the tribal headman.*

When fresh tribal land was acquired, it was he who in Malay days marked the boundaries, after the territorial chief had fixed the price. When the property of a tribeswoman changes hands on death or by sale, it is he who still attends at the Collector's office to guard the interests of his tribe.

He is concerned with all offences that may damage his tribe's interests, whether they are the crimes, torts or debts of an individual or the misdeeds of an elder or a territorial chief.

The tribal chief, like the territorial, must never die. If an election cannot be settled before the burial of a deceased tribal chief, then the elder of the deceased's sub-clan acts temporarily. Often fights at the graveside and indecent delay of the obsequies have occurred.

Each of the fully enfranchised sub-tribes should in turn provide a holder for the office, though if the sub-tribe whose turn it is cannot furnish a suitable candidate, it loses that turn. When a *lembaga* dies, if his sub-tribe fails to bury him with due ceremony, it loses for ever the right to have any of its members appointed to the office.

A tribal chief is elected by the elders of the sub-tribe, supported by the fully enfranchised members of the tribe, male and female, and the lesser headmen, and he can be removed only by their unanimous vote. He must be dismissed if he harbours or abets an offender, if he causes wrongful gain or loss to one of his tribe, if he brings shame on the tribe or if he is caught in an illicit love affair. An old friend of mine, who had been elected in spite of having an 'unlucky' cross-eye nearly lost office because he was so undignified as to drive his own bullock-cart. He may also be

dismissed for open opposition to the territorial chief. If at the election of a new tribal chief the electors fail to reach unanimity, the choice is made by the territorial chief in council with the other tribal chiefs. No election or dismissal is valid until confirmed by the territorial chief. If the council of the territorial chief cannot agree, then the matter goes now to the State Council for the Yam-tuan and the four territorial chiefs in consultation with the British Resident to "disentangle the intricate, clear the turbid and disperse the mist." If a tribal chief is going away for a short period, say, to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, he may suggest some one, usually the elder of his own sub-tribe, to act for him, but his nominee must still be approved by the electors and the territorial chief. Old age or illness may compel him to summon the electors and tender his resignation in set phrases:—"The valleys have grown too deep for my going, the hills too steep for my climbing and journeys too far for my feet. Burdens have become too heavy for my back and light tasks for my fingers." The procedure for election is the same as in the other cases.

Elected the new chief invites the tribe to a public feast called "the sprinkling of the broken grain" for all the denizens of the village, "the cocks that lay not eggs, the hens that cackle and the chickens that chirp." He sprinkles the grain as a symbol of gathering them under his wing and the bond of tribal unity is acknowledged in old-world sentences:—

*Together we skin the elephant's liver,
Together dip the liver of the louse;
What we drop is common loss;
What we gain is common profit.*

THE TERRITORIAL CHIEF (UNDANG).

The Minangkabau colonists did not bring territorial chiefs from their homeland. Others were already in possession, whom they gradually merged into their matrilineal system and termed *Undang* or Lawgivers. Dato' Klana Putra, Undang of Sungai Ujong, represents a chieftainship, that as far back as the XIVth century was held by the Bendahara family of Malacca and even in the XVIIIth century was inherited by patrilineal descent. The Undangs of Rembau and Johor claim descent from Bendahara Sekudai, a Johor descendant of those same Malacca viziers. The early Malacca-sprung chiefs convinced the Minangkabau newcomers of their title to the soil—explaining, as soon as they grasped the principles of mother right, that their title was got by intermarriage with aboriginal women! Johor, Jelebu and Sungai Ujong still humour the aborigines by pretending to regard them as owners of the soil.

The method of electing the territorial chiefs is significant as showing how far Minangkabau custom penetrated inland. In Rembau and Naning the tribal chiefs elect by their unanimous

vote the territorial chiefs from different uterine sub-tribes, offshoots of the original patriarchal Malacca house. In Jelebu the Undang is elected by a Council of eight, of whom five represent the Malacca *waris* family and only three are *lembaga*, representing Minangkabau tribes. In Johol, Baginda Tan Mas, head of the *waris* is elected to his office by the Jenung (a Malay chief with an aboriginal title) and the six elders of the non-Minangkabau Biduanda tribe, and on a vacancy he becomes automatically Undang. In Sungai Ujong the Undang is elected by the elders of the two Malacca-sprung *waris* families, eligible for the post, or failing their unanimous vote by four minor territorial chiefs who are now improperly styled *lembaga*.

Every Undang is head of the *waris* family, whose inheritance comprises all the land in the State not alienated to the Minangkabau settlers, all "the ravines and valleys, hills and gorges and tree-cumbered jungle paths." As head he is allotted the lion's share of the revenue from these sources. In Rembau he used to get tribute from all squatters on unalienated land of parched and husked rice, together with a duty on minerals and agricultural produce exported by miners and foreign planters. These sources of revenue have been mostly commuted now for fixed allowances to members of the *waris* families, while in Rembau so great have been the profits from rubber lands that in addition to these increased allowances a *waris* fund has been started for the erection of mosques and public works of utility to the Malays. Unlike the Yam-tuan, the Undangs were rich.

The Undangs, however, are commoners:—in theory, the smallest raja ranks as high as an Undang. But they were (and are) independent:—they collaborated in the face of Bugis invaders and then fell apart. Now, however, that they have come together under British protection, the Dato' Kiana of Sungai Ujong, the chief of oldest descent, whose ancestor is reputed to have summoned the first Yam-tuan, is once more their spokesman. Unless any of them desired to refer a matter to the Yam-tuan (which in practice never happened), the Undang sitting in council with the tribal or tribal and *waris* chiefs interpreted custom and had powers of execution with the creese.

The state maintained by an Undang is considerable. His appropriate number is 5 against 3 for the tribal chief and 7 for the Yam-tuan:—a salute of 5 guns, a wedding lasting 5 days, a dais of 5 storeys and a bier of 5 storeys. His insignia include flags, umbrellas, weapons, canopies, curtains, a tent on his lawn and a gong to announce his movements. When the Undang of Jelebu is buried, nine maidens stand on the litter, eight keeping the corpse in position with their extended hands, while the ninth holds aloft a young plantain-tree as a symbol that the office never dies.

THE RULER (YANG DI-PERTUAN).

For a long time the Minangkabau settlers were content to be under the protection of whatever neighbouring power could secure them peace, their territorial Malacca-descended chiefs gradually adopting Minangkabau custom but being careful to get recognition from the Dutch in Malacca and from the Sultans of Johor. In the eighteenth century the murder of a Sultan of Johor dragged them into conflict with the heir and his supporters, the Bugis of Riau. So they sent for a Minangkabau prince to defend them and at last found a paladin in a Raja Melewar, whom they created Yang di-pertuan or, to use the colloquial, Yam-tuan.

Though the first Yam-tuan "strengthened the succession by humouring matrilineal ideas" and marrying a daughter of the first Chief of Muar, yet the royal family could and afterwards did marry within itself: cousins for example, the children of brothers, have commonly married. The second and third Yam-tuans were *husbands of the daughter and granddaughter* of Raja Melewar. Since then succession has gone through the male line. But the office does not descend by primogeniture. The Yam-tuan is elected by the four territorial chiefs—formally today, though in the past there were disputes, some claiming that the Yam-tuan should always be a delegate from Minangkabau, others that his mother as well as his father must be royal or else of the tribe of the Muar wife of Raja Melewar.

The appointment was after the model of the Minangkabau constitution. Like the Raja of the Minangkabau world at Pagar Ruyong, the Yam-tuan was supreme arbiter, the final court of appeal. Perhaps among the Yam-tuan's insignia the ring and the hair (which Karens and Malays use for divination) are relics of the early days of this royal justiciar. Minangkabau sayings define his position:—

*The Raja is the jount of equity
The Chief carries out the law.
The cord for arrest is the tribal headman's,
The execution creese is the territorial chief's,
The headman's sword is the Raja's,—
He can stab without asking leave of any suzerain,
He can behead without reporting it to any suzerain.*

In a matriarchal community he had these rights of a patriarchal king—if the matrilineal territorial chiefs allowed appeal to him! Like the Raja at Pagar Ruyong, the Yam-tuan owns no territory:—as the Jelebu customary sayings cynically remark, "the highroads with their stepping-stones belong to the prince and the bulbulus"! Nor can the Yam-tuan levy taxes: any attempt to do so would cause him to be cast out "upon a waveless sea and a grassless field," or in plain language to be expelled. Actually he lived on

the land acquired through Raja Melewar's tribal commoner wife, on offerings of money, rice and coconuts made at his accession and at circumcision and marriage feasts; and, in the old days, on fees for cock-fights. He was Caliph, head of the Muslim Faith—in any territory where the local chief did not proclaim himself Caliph! In short, the only one of his attributes that one or other of the territorial chiefs has not claimed from time to time is his immemorial sanctity as a white-blooded prince. He was allowed the usual ceremonial rights of Malay rulers, namely, the right of using and of permitting others to use weapons sheathed in gold or silver and styles of architecture confined to rajas. Tabu to all but royalty were yellow clothes; skirts all black, white or red; a silk cummerbund fastening the skirt with the creese thrust through it; the wearing of a scarf over the shoulder; divan mats adorned with gold or silver; bejewelled head-cloths and modesty-pieces for children made of coconut-shell! Tabu were the styles of tying the headdress called 'The Chief returns from bathing' and 'Splitting the young coconut,' also the tying of it with all four ends projecting. And it was tabu to enter the palace precincts using an umbrella or carrying a scarf or betel-set suspended from the shoulder. The violator of any of these tabus could be fined 24 dollars.

At the installation of a Yam-tuan every old-world ceremony to emphasize his divine right and to bind the chiefs to allegiance is performed. The tasselled spears, the creeses and swords of the regalia are carried by attendants. The eight umbrellas of royal yellow are opened. Eight betel-boxes, eight vessels of water and eight vessels containing ashes are held for all to see. Blood and an iron bullet and cooling rice-paste are put into a bowl of water. Incense is burnt and all the candles lit. Then two chamberlains invoke the four Angels to send down the divine power of a prince (*daulat*) by the angels that guard the four quarters of the world and by the angel of the Pole-Star and the Horned Princess who is the angel of the moon. Next two heralds cry out proclaiming homage to a sacrosant prince. The herald on the right cries standing on his left leg with the sole of his right foot resting against his left knee; his right hand shades his eyes and with the tip of the fingers of his left hand he presses against his left cheek. The herald on the left cries standing on his right leg and performs the same feat but with the opposite limbs of his body. So formerly in Siam a temporary king, whose reign for three days every April preceded the sowing of rice, had to stand in this posture at different places on each day for three hours at a stretch in order to gain victory over evil spirits. Failure to perform this feat was a bad omen and entailed forfeiture of his property; success entitled him to take the contents of any shop in the town or of any ship in harbour. Again. In the sixth month the king of Siam had to circumambulate the city for seven

days and if there was delay in the preparation of his conveyance he had to stand on one foot till it was ready, or lose his crown. The author who records these Siamese rites says that Brahman sun-worshippers also stand on one foot with the other resting on the ankle and that some Hindus stand on one foot with hands joined before their faces in order to salute a superior. The Malay hunter who uses a certain elephant charm strongly infected with Hindu imagery has to stand on one leg and mutter it three mornings at sunrise. A Malay charm for the abduction of a person's soul has to be recited at sun-rise with the big toe of the reciter's right foot resting on the big toe of his left. This position of the toes is also assumed by the Malay magician who squats to plant the first rice-seed and it recalls the European superstition that the person who, clasping hands unconsciously, puts the thumb of the right hand above the thumb of the left is sure to have the upper hand in marriage!

After all have cried homage, incense is burnt and the word of Allah descends declaring that He has made this prince His vicegerent and shadow on earth. Chapters from the Quran are read. The blood is stirred in the bowl and the oath of allegiance is taken. The blood and iron and the presence of the Quran recall the imprecation which the Minangkabau medicine-man utters against evil spirits that may harm the young rice-plants:—

*Break faith and ye shall be stricken,
By the magnetic iron that is sacred,
By the divine power of Pagar Ruyong,
By the thirty chapters of the Quran.*

And throughout this tremendous ceremony the Yam-tuan must sit motionless, seeing that to be able to sit rigid for hours was considered by his Buddhist ancestors to be a sign of the commencing divinity of a king.

"At every stage" says Sir John Simon, "the British constitution has developed by making a new brick, placing a new step, removing some definite concrete obstacle." The Negri Sembilan constitution developed on similar lines though it failed until the days of British protection to remove two concrete obstacles to its perfection. It dealt skilfully with patrilineal intruders, the pre-Minangkabau inhabitants, and the later aliens from Malacca and Acheen, allotting to them tribes and tribal chiefs and absorbing them into its comity. It dealt skilfully with those who claimed the country under gift from the patriarchal Sultans of Malacca and their successors the patriarchal Sultans of Johor; they became territorial chiefs, but chiefs who soon discarded patriarchal custom for Minangkabau mother-right. The legal system was adaptable, jurisdiction was well graded and in theory there was a supreme arbiter, the Yam-tuan, above State prejudices, with comparative data and final jurisdiction. "In itself" writes Mr. R. J. Wilkinson

very justly, "the gradation of official powers is no protection of the liberty of the subject. Its effectiveness in Negri Sembilan lay in the fact that the higher authorities were like our own appellate or assize courts: they could not initiate an attack on an individual. If the peasant committed a petty offence, he was judged by his own people: the chief could not interfere. If he was charged with a graver crime, he was heard by his own people and if a *prima facie* case was made out against him, he was handed over to the higher authorities for trial.... The (territorial) chief could not proceed against any one except the tribal headman, nor was he strong enough to attack any single *lembaga* unjustly in face of the opposition that such a proceeding would arouse among the rest." But in spite of the good points of this constitution there were two imperfections that were never mended. First of all there was the basic Minangkabau principle that for every election and every decision complete unanimity is required.—

*As a bamboo conduit makes a round jet of water,
So taking counsel together rounds men to one mind.*

Unanimity is obviously a survival from early days of family rule, but though they have long since outgrown family rule, the Minangkabaus have never learnt to bow to the decision of the majority: until the British came, minorities always broke away and created civil strife. Secondly there was the anomalous position of the Yam-tuan. These simple frugal democratic villagers failed to recognize that to be incorruptible even an arbiter must be set above want, and have an adequate privy purse. Moreover to enforce his decrees he must have power, a point they saw and reasonably feared. The old Nine States never were a homogeneous Minangkabau federation. The big territorial chiefs who professed the matrilineal system in its entirety never merged their individual interests in those of the federation, as tribes through the need for intermarriage had merged theirs from time immemorial. Except in the face of a foreign aggressor each State was self-sufficient, so that until the days of British protection the territorial chiefs never met regularly in Council with the Yam-tuan as each one of them met in council with his own tribal chiefs. The British creation of a Council for the Nine States of which the Yam-tuan is president and the Undangs are members put the coping-stone on the Negri Sembilan constitution.

PART III.

MINANGKABAU BELIEFS.

THE MEDICINE-MAN.

Outside the Muslim but on the verge of the political sphere stands the medicine-man, who keeps away pests from the rice-fields and illness from the home. It is still recorded how by the early Minangkabau settlers of Muar one To' Puteh of the Sri Lemak tribe was made medicine-man for the new shire (*pawang negeri*). In 1918 a medicine-man played the major part in the installation of the Undang of Johol, taking him down to the stream, sprinkling his head with water and cooling rice-paste and fumigating his creese and head-kerchief with incense.

The present Undang of Rembau tells us how a competent medicine-man "is invariably warned of an approaching epidemic, by the appearance in a dream of a reigning raja or a ruling chief—the colour of the royal robe, be it yellow, white, red or black, having a definite relation to the coming illness." To combat it a lustration ceremony is performed. Overnight the medicine-man prepares jars of water as many as there are houses in the hamlet; cloth of the colour of the dream robe; cloths white, yellow and black; lead amulets inscribed with Arabic letters; heaps of rattan and pitcher-plant—to which, if rinderpest is the trouble, are added bamboo and a llama. Over them he recites incantations and having fumigated them all with incense, he leaves the materials there for the night "so as to give the saints invoked sufficient time to recite their own incantations over them." The next morning he pours a little of the water from the jars over each villager. On their arms he ties the amulets and threads of black, white and red, twisted from the threads of the cloths. "Each villager," writes the Undang, "is supplied with a small quantity of toasted rice to be eaten, as it has great medicinal virtue. Besides he is given the rattan and pitcher-plant in the case of plague or small-pox, together with bamboo and *Parkia sumatrana* in the case of rinderpest, and small strips of the black, yellow and white cloth, all of which are to be placed on the gate of his fence and on the steps and door of his house." The thread, the amulet and the sylvan offerings are to "inform the spirit king of the epidemic that the persons using them are his subjects who must not be attacked." If the epidemic is mild or thwarted "the village folk pay their communal vow at the grave of some renowned saint."

Almost as important as the health of the villagers is the welfare of his crops. Tribal sayings never fail to emphasize the intimate relationship between agriculture and mother-right:—

*When the first clod was upturned
And the first creeper severed
And the first tree fell
Our custom and system of entail were not yet established
When holding was dovetailed into holding*

*When our stretches of rice-field were made,
When the shoots of our plants swayed in the breeze
When our betel-palms grew up in rows,
Then were established our custom and system of entail.*

The entailed property may comprise not only the homestead plot and the rice-swamp but also (for *waris*) large trees in which bees have built their nests—"trees with spikes to climb for honey." At the collection of this honey the Rembau medicine-man recites typical sets of quatrains and customary sayings. The first couplets are adapted from betrothal verses:—

*Below yon tree young withies peer!
Upon yon field the fern-shoot bends!
Come bow thee down, oh honey dear!
A youngster now his greeting sends.
A mango grows upon the lea:
For a rudder let us take the wood.
From far away I come to thee,
Because I hear thy heart is good.*

Then the medicine-man, expert in animism, pays his respect to the tree also:—

*The peace of Allah be upon you,
Trunk that is called the Raja Erect,
Knots that are called the Sitting Rajas,
Branches that are called the Curling Serpents,
Twigs that are called the Tiny Snakes,
Leaves that are called the Swifts,
Shoots that are called the Princesses Peering upwards.*

A quatrain alludes to the driving of wooden pegs into the tree for the *Pawang* to climb. Then another set of quatrains follows, in which the medicine-man protests that Allah is his support and Muhammad his prop. He invokes the assistance of the clouds to prevent the stars from "sprouting" in the heavens. His fate depends, as it were, "on a hair." Then he lights his torch of dried coconut frond, invoking the Raja of the Wind to descend. As he cuts away the nest, he recites a quatrain such as one would address to a child:—"Sleep, little one, on your mat!" As he lowers the nest, he recites two more nursery quatrains:—

*I swing my baby in his cot!
My baby's more than life to me.
The tree puts forth its yellow flower:
Who of the bloom a wreath will twine?
I come unto my darling's bower.
Who shall deny the child is mine.*

Never once does he allude to the bees directly by name. Finally he descends and asks leave from the tree to go home.

But by far the most important agricultural ritual is that of the Malay rice-field. I shall only supplement here the account given in "Shaman, Saiva and Sufi" by invocations and ceremonies peculiar to Negri Sembilan.

Before seed is sown in the nursery, every planter carries to the top of his valley a coconut-shell full of rice-grain to be fumigated with incense and blessed by the medicine-man. This grain he mixes with other seed selected for sowing. Before he scatters the seed with his left hand, the planter sprinkles it with a cooling mixture, reciting as follows:—

*Peace be unto you,
Mother Earth and Father Water!
I've put a cooling charm on my child,
My lovely maid of fair countenance,
Support and prop of the Muslim Faith!
Let not her gracious vital spark be hurt.
Come! Thou and I are of one flesh and blood and being!
When the fourth month is past thou wilt return.
Linger not by men's homesteads!
Linger not in men's courtyards!
Linger not at harvest feasts
Nor by the tall rushes that grow in the swamp
Come, my soul! Come!
This is a charm against goblins of the soil!
Fail not to grow up!
Goblins! I know your origin:
Of after-birth ye were created.*

Rice is the prop of Islam, because tithes to the mosque are paid in rice-grain.

The cooling mixture sprinkled by the magician and planter is composed of rice-paste and of herbs with propitious names or soothing quality. There is an invocation to accompany its use:—

*Cooling rice-paste! Rice-paste real!
I put you on two or three pecks of grain.
Thousands of pecks I soon shall gain.
Rice-paste without speck!
May this land yield me many a peck
Of rice that grows sans blight or speck
On ridges banked and sat with grain!
By grace of Allah's Prophet, Abraham,
By grace of the elders at the four corners of the world
By grace of Muhammad, Apostle of God.*

If rats or insects damage the rice-plants, once more the planters go up to the watershed taking benzoin and an aromatic plant (*Alpinia galanga*) for the *pawang* to charm. The plant thus blessed is pounded and scattered on the fields.

When he summons the rice-soul at harvest, the medicine-man cries

*Spirits that peep and guard!
What shoves above the ground is my portion;
What lies below is yours
Hurt not nor destroy my portion!
Else ye shall be devoured by the thirty chapters of the
Quran;
That shall be your doom.*

He waves a white cloth, so that the rice-soul shall not fall on him and crush him. Then he pays his respects to Earth and Water.

Every three years a mock-combat is conducted to drive evil spirits away from the rice-fields into the sea. On the first day, the villagers accompany the medicine-man to the upper water of the river that irrigates their valley and set their paraphernalia down under a banyan tree or at some other Sacred Place. First walk flag-bearers and a gong bearer, then the chief medicine-man flanked by two assistants carrying incense and cooling rice-paste and propitious herbs. The medicine-man chants in Arabic praise of the Prophet Muhammad, the crowd responding. Then he takes four of the stems of the plant which is used for the combat and burls one towards each of the cardinal points. To loud shouting and the beating of gongs the lustral procession starts down the valley, everybody walking in the rice-swamps and not insulting the medicine-man by molesting the dry ridges that intersect the fields.* By the fourth day temporary bamboo huts have been built at different spots along the river and adorned with carpets and curtains. At each of these huts the chief medicine-man is met with offerings of betel and conducted to the seat of honour. At each of these huts combatants come forward in pairs and hurl aroid stems or even stones at one another. White and black goats are sacrificed. And the chief medicine-man can fine any offender against etiquette during these ritual combats. The ceremony ended, for three days at least and seven days at most, no one can shed blood of beast or fowl and no living branch may be broken. After the period of tabu, a pink buffalo is slaughtered upriver where the ceremony started and its flesh is buried as food for the evil spirits. Downstream where the procession ended, a black buffalo is slaughtered and its meat divided according to the number of houses in the village. In the next district, Johol, one buffalo only seems to be slaughtered and a portion of its blood and flesh is given each villager to bury in her rice-plot as an offering to the earth spirits. The Malays' latest religion can hardly frown

* (The invocations employed by the medicine-man have already been printed in "Shaman, Saivs and Sufi" pp. 92-95).

at this survival of paganism. In Arabia, too, farmers sprinkle new plough-land with the blood of a peace-offering to placate malignant spirits of the soil.

After the harvest each planter gives the medicine-man a present of rice. For only if his efforts against spiritual foes succeed, can a settlement maintain its fight against the sea of jungle around it, or as the tribes express it

*Homestead cluster close to homestead,
Neighbours marry with their neighbours,
Visit friends in time of sickness,
Use one shelter for ablutions,
From one well drew bathing water,
For their pastimes use one common.*

THE SHAMAN AND THE SHAMAN'S FAMILIARS.

A European may live in the Nine States for years and not come across the Minangkabau shaman or his or her *séance*. Yet the shaman's art is practised everywhere on rare occasions. The shaman may be a man, or perhaps an elderly woman. Every shaman must possess a familiar or familiars.

The commonest type of familiar always sticks closely to the shaman, male or female and needs no invocation to summon it to its owner's aid. This familiar assumes the form of an animal, such as those that attend on the saints of sacred places. Nearly always, it is a tiger or tigress:—in the spirit world its sex is not stressed. On this familiar the shaman may ride for night errands. By day it will guide its owner's steps in the trackless forest or protect him and his cattle from material tigers and his crops from the wild pigs. It is, as it were, first cousin to the were-tiger familiars of the tiger-breed families in certain Minangkabau tribes. But the shaman need not be of a member of such a family or himself turn into a tiger. And not every tiger-bred person is a shaman. How the Minangkabau shaman acquires this tiger familiar is not exactly related. One such familiar is supposed to have been a shaman in his life and to have attended his widow, who was also a shaman, in tiger form. It is clear that dreams and graves play a part in the acquisition of tiger familiars for the Minangkabau as for other Malay shamans.

There is another type of less intimate familiar. It is mostly if not always male shamans who command these airy invisible spirits, always more than one and indeed ranging from three or four to a dozen or more.—Whoever can command them owns as a rule the tiger familiar also.—These invisible spirits live "by flood and field," in gully or forest, in rapid or tree, and never quit their haunts to come to the shaman unless they are conjured at a ceremonial *séance*. Generally male shamans command female spirits. Ordinarily these spirits are called only to reveal a cure for severe illness: at other times it is impious to refer to them. When summoned, they are invoked not by their proper names but by names descriptive of their sex and of their habitation. The spirits attendant on the humble Minangkabau shaman are very different from the great powers like Brahma, Vishnu and King Solomon, that come at the call of the court shamans of the patriarchal State of Perak but the method of invoking them is similar. The house is decked "as for a wedding." The ceremony is celebrated after dark and takes about three hours, ending before midnight. As it is rarely performed, all the village attends, more particularly relatives and friends. The shaman arrives and is seated on an embroidered mat. Three five or seven pots of water are arranged before him. The shaman's wife or lady-friend or one of his pupils sits as interpreter, seeing that the spirits will talk through

the shaman their medium in a language unintelligible to the uninitiated. The shaman veils his face and then recites strange songs of invocation to a weird appealing tune. He falls into a trance and shudders horribly while the smoke and sent of incense fill the room. "He may dash his hands and feet against the floor and his body against the wall. He may even rise, walk about the room, throw off his veil, disclose his flashing blood-shot eyes, sit upon the earthenware pots, snatch red-hot cinders from the incense-burner and chew them in his mouth—all these without causing himself the least injury. The house shakes and the spectators are full of awe. As the medium grows more and more frantic in his movements and recitations, the spirits invoked come one by one. Sometimes only one descends, the others making excuses. If they are Muslims, their greeting will be the Arabic 'Allah's peace be upon you' (*as-salamu alaikum*). At each arrival the interpreter introduce the comer as Dato' (Gaffer Chief) of this or that mountain or place." The invisible spirits seal themselves invisibly. The relative of the sick person sitting closest to him describes the illness and asks for its cause and cure. The interpreter communicates this to the shaman, who as medium for all the spirits present, replies "after a few minutes' real or pretended meditation" that the illness was caused by such and such malignant influence or person on such and such an occasion and then gives the cure or says the complaint will be fatal. All the spirits present agree with the diagnosis. The crowd departs. Half an hour later the shaman recovers and quits the house without a word, accompanied, it is believed, by his tiger familiar.

The use of the shaman as a medium has been found to be most common in areas where arctic hysteria is prevalent, especially in Siberia. And there is the closest resemblance between the hysteria of the Samoyed and the *latah* of the Malay and the Dayak. Both of these nervous maladies will cause sufferers to mimic the words and gestures of those who startle them, to strip themselves naked and to utter the obscenities of the subconscious mind. Catalepsy for the time is complete. This temporary paroxysm, like madness, the Malay attributes to possession by a spirit. In Borneo a Milanau woman who has been possessed by a spirit only requires to undergo an elaborate ceremony of exorcism in order to become a medicine-woman. Contact with the spirit world made manifest by nervous seizures qualified man or woman in many primitive tribes to become healer, exorcist and diviner. "He stripped off his clothes and prophesied before Samuel and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'"

Modern science has found all the characteristics of the shaman in patients suffering from protracted hysterical delirium. In such sufferers excitement determines an outbreak. Visual hallucinations are especially visions of animals and fantastic processions, in which

dead persons, devils and ghosts swarm. Attacks of amnesia may last for days or weeks. The patient will become cataleptic, and in somnambulic dialogue copy the peculiarities of dead relations and acquaintances, changing the voice whenever a new spirit manifests itself;—the names of the spirits may be inexhaustible but commonly all belong to two types, one gay one serious. Sometimes he or she uses a strange idiom that sounds like French or Italian. This "gift of tongues" is called "glossolalia": apparently the patient arranges together meaningless words, borrowing subconsciously sounds from various languages; it is only a pseudo-language "analogue au baragouinage par lequel les enfants se donnent parfois dans leur jeux l'illusion qu'ils parlent chinois, indien ou sauvage." One patient declared that she lost her body and went away to distant places whither the spirits led her. Once she was hysterically blind for half an hour, did not see the candle on the table and had to be led. She so influenced her relations that three of her brothers and sisters also began to have hallucinations. Another woman had to have a splinter cut out of her finger. "Without any kind of bodily change she suddenly saw herself sitting by the side of a brook in a beautiful meadow, plucking flowers." Another gradually lost her abnormal sensitiveness and six months later was caught cheating at a *stampe*, concealing small objects in her dress and throwing them up in the air, wanting to restore the lost belief in her supernatural powers. This diagnosis of hysterical delirium, summarized from Jung's paper "On the Psychology and Pathology of so-called Occult Phenomena," might have been made from the study of the Malay shaman alone.

THE SACRED PLACE.

The study of sacred places, persons and animals in the Nine States has not yet received the attention it deserves. Research in this field throws light not only on the nature-worship and ancestor-worship of the Malays but also on that facile canonisation of Muslim saints living and dead that marks the Indian source from which Islam came to them. In Rembau alone the minor saints, who were holy men or medicine-men, are to be numbered in hundreds and appear to be increasing. Sacred places and sacred persons and animals, alive or dead, are all known by the Arabic word *karamat*.

Syncretism has made the kernel of many traditions hard to discover: a saint or a Muslim genie will be dragged in to hallow the nature worship centring round boulder or tree. But the stories attached to these sacred places, persons and animals lead to their classification under six main heads.

- (1) There are natural objects, such as rocks, hilltops, capes, whirlpools, trees and so on. Among these may yet be discovered a "Stonehenge" such as has been found in Kelantan.
- (2) There are sacred tigers and crocodiles confined to certain localities. But whereas in other parts of Malaya the crocodile or tiger may be sanctified as a holy animal, in the Nine States every sacred tiger is a dead *person* who after death takes on the form of a tiger. The late territorial chief of Muar is a *karamat* tiger and walks on the hill behind the District Officer's house at Kuala Pilah.
- (3) There are the graves of medicine-men and shamans, both termed *pawang*.
- (4) There are the graves of founders of settlements, generally male: for in the Nine States the men are as greedy for office as the women are greedy for property. The formal installation of a Dato' Klanai involves a pilgrimage to the tombs of all his predecessors. "All these founders of settlements," writes the present territorial chief of Rembau, Dato' Sedia Raja, "all these saints are believed to be alive but invisible and their living existence is testified by the fact that now and then they appear to some villager in a dream, by the presence of ancient trees growing in the place of their abode, by stone relics which were once articles for their daily use and by the presence of their sacred tigers and crocodiles. They possess houses and like ordinary villagers keep domestic animals. It is owing to the presence of To' Palong's protecting buffaloes that the cattle of the tribal folk of Chembong, Batu Hampar and Sepri are practically immune from rinderpest, which has always attacked

cattle in other parts of Rembau." Dato' Sedia Raja distinguishes between early ancestors who are really sacred and later personages to whom they have given supernatural powers making them "more or less sacred."

- (5) There are the graves of Muslim saints, whose head and footstones will often become mysteriously far apart, perhaps because they are not really dead.
- (6) Lastly, we have living Muslim saints. These saints generally bear the hall-mark of some physical peculiarity: one has a hairy uvula, another is a dwarf, another is short-sighted, another has half his tongue black. One mark of saintship in the dead is a saffron fairness of the corpse. In Rembau they are regarded as secondary or inferior saints.

With this classification in mind, it is easy to group the *karamot* of the Nine States, as recorded by me in JRASMB, Vol. II, 1924 and by the present Undang of Rembau, Dato' Sedia Raja 'Abdu'l-lah, C.B.E., in Vol. III, 1925.

Formerly at many sacred places incense and prayer would produce plates—a recent importation among the Malays—for those in need, but this miracle has ceased because instead of returning the shards of any broken, borrowers replaced them with whole but ordinary plates.

The Malays burn incense, offer food and make vows at these sacred places, especially for recovery from illness, for the gift of a child, for victory in a law-suit and before the triennial ceremony of expelling evil spirits from the rice-fields. At Parol one or more goats are killed and *in their blood the suppliant bathes the child or sick person* on whose behalf the vow is made. Scraps of cloth will always be found hung on sticks round a *karamot* and, if there is a reputed grave, over it will be hung a cloth of royal yellow (like a mosquito-curtain over a bed) in honour of the saint. If a prayer is fulfilled, the suppliant makes offerings and gives the villagers a feast *on the spot*. At the big triennial rice-ceremony, a white buffalo is slaughtered for the spirits, these ghostly animals being held by all Malays to belong to the spirit-world; and a black buffalo is slaughtered for the feast. *A bit of the flesh of the beast slaughtered at the sacred place must be buried in every villager's rice-plot.* At smaller feasts the victim is a goat, black if the sacrifice is in honour of earth-spirits, white if it is in honour of a saint or sacred animal. The commonest offering of all is a fowl. Often a white fowl is not killed but released at the sacred spot. To-day the Malay has no explanation of this choice of domestic animals for offerings. But the Dayaks of Borneo tell why for waving and for offering no jungle-fowl, crane, argus-pheasant, king-fisher, owl, hornbill or any other wild bird is worth

a fowl as big as the fingers. The domestic fowl is in debt to man for rice and sugar-cane, maize and pumpkins, nest and roost, and moreover it is a bird for whose redoubtable appearance familiarity has bred undeserved contempt:—

*Ye fowls have many crimes and many debts!
Ye bear away the spirits of sickness,
The spirits of fever and ague and headache,
The spirits of cold, the spirits of the forest....
Ye fowls have beaks as sharp as augers:
Your feathers are like fringes of red thread,
Your ear-feathers like sharpened bambous;
Your wings flap like folds of red cloth;
Your tails are bent down like dragging ropes;
Your crops weigh heavily like many iron hawkbills;
Your nails are like sharp iron knives.*

At Dior in Muar the sick person fulfils the vow for recovery by a thank-offering of white and black broth, a black fowl and a figurine of himself in dough. It is probable that the use of this symbolic model is Muslim (and Semitic)—especially as dough is foreign to the Malays,—and that its use has been misconstrued. One Assyrian charm bids the medicine-man fashion a figure of his plague-stricken patient from clay, place it on the sick man's loins at night and "make atonement" for the patient on the morrow, using the figure as his *substitute*. In another Assyrian charm seven loaves of pure dough are substituted for the sick man and placed under a thorn-bush in the desert. In another Malay State, Kelantan, the medicine-man will put a taper and dough images of birds, beasts and fishes on a tray, make the patient hold a parti-coloured thread, one end of which is stuck under a taper, and recite a charm commanding the devils to accept the banquet of flesh and blood, sharks, lobsters and crabs, the various "kind of substitutes" offered on the tray.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE.

*First there's custom Allah gave us,
Second that of worldly wisdom.
The way to Allah: first the credo,
Second prayer, the third almsgiving,
Fasting fourth, and fifth the haj.
The worldly way is song and clapper
Calling men to food and liquor
To marry and to take in marriage.*

A Jelebu saying.

Hitherto I have described an exogamous people, who regard as incest marriages allowed by Islam, who have their own views on dowries and who have never accepted canon law for the disposal of their property. Even their rules of evidence are unacceptable to Muslim jurists:—

*Customary law requires signs of guilt,
Religious law calls for witnesses.*

So far from observing *purdah* their women-folk work openly in the rice-fields, attend and vote at the election of tribal officers and give evidence in court and land office. Far worse, these people pay vows at the tombs of ancestors and medicine-men; they believe in were-tigers, goblins of the soil and spirits of disease, and though Muhammad classed the fee of a diviner along with the price of a dog and the wages of a harlot they practise magic and even shamanism. In addition they cherish the traces of Hindu influence a millennium old. Their princes are rajas; their chiefs bear such titles as Maharaja, Mandulika, Lela Perkasa, Lelawangsa, Serinara; on marriage the wife's relation give the bridegroom a new name or title, generally Sanskrit. Their marriages are full of Hindu ceremonial. A Negri Sembilan raja may send his creese or his headkerchief to represent him when he marries a wife of humble birth: it is so that a Hindu girl is married to a prince or to a god. And yet every one of the Minangkabau colonists is a Muslim of the school of Shafei.

A religious elder pronounces a Muslim adjuration over the newly-born child. Later the child is circumcised—an adaptation of a Muslim ceremony in place of an earlier mutilation practised by Malayan tribes to counteract the evil influences arising at puberty. A feast marks the completion of a child's reading of the Quran. A school-boy will write a text of the Quran on paper, dip it in water and drink the water in order to command divine aid in the examination room. All magical charms invoke the names of Allah and of Muhammad. Marriage is performed in accordance with Muslim law, though the fact that under mother-right women are tied down to their property has introduced a form for marriage with foreign Malays subject to the condition that if the husband is absent for six months by land or a year overseas without

communicating with his wife the Kadhi pronounces a divorce. Under the influence of Islam a couple who in pagan days would have met and discovered their affection are no longer supposed to meet before their wedding-day. No Malay breaks the rule that pork is forbidden food and exceedingly few ever taste alcohol. One of the Traditions (*Hadith*) says that the Prophet forbade Muslims to drink standing,—just as Brahman students are forbidden; and this prohibition is commonly observed by Malays ignorant of the other Tradition that Muhammad used to drink standing and of Ibn Qutaiba's effort to reconcile these conflicting accounts of the Prophet's views and practice. Often Malays like dogs but they will carry a puppy in a rattan sling and be careful not to incur uncleanliness by touching his wet nose. Malays accept the Muslim view that the taking of interest is unlawful.

English education, a foe to superstition and obscurantism, has done much to strengthen and foster Islamic influence.

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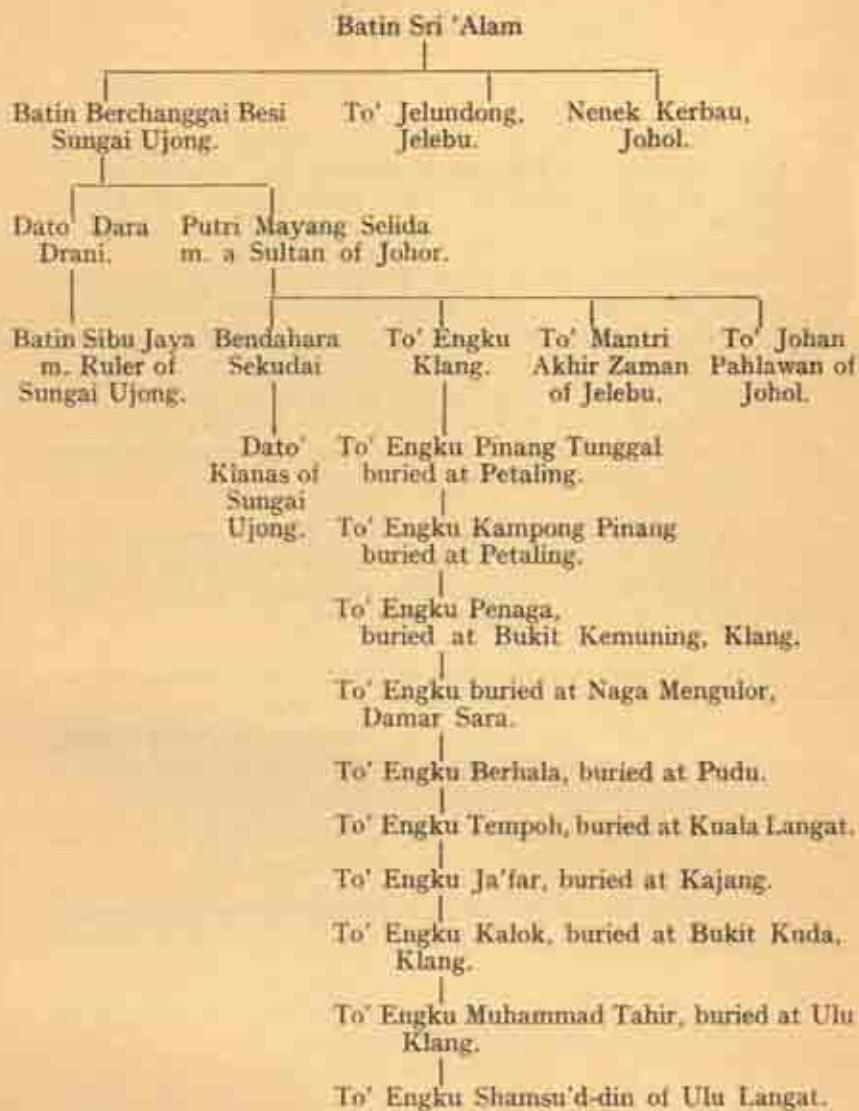
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APPENDICES.

1

To' Engku Klang.

The present holder of this Selangor title has favoured me with an interesting genealogy of his old Johor house. He has also sent an impression of his seal which bears the inscription: *Dato' Engku Kelang berwakil kapada Yamtuan Selangor 1112 A. H.* (=1700 A.D.). This means "The Dato' Engku of Klang delegates powers to the Yamtuan of Selangor," and on the death of the Yamtuan the seal would be returned to the family of the To' Engkus. In 1699 A.D. the last of the Malacca dynasty in Johor, Sultan Mahmud, was killed at Kota Tinggi and the then Bendahara ascended the Johor throne as Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah. The title To' Engku is a style used by the Bendaharas and Temenggongs of Johor after their house acquired the Sultanate:—it is here used by a Klang chief whose descent from the Bendaharas may have dated back to Bendahara Skudai (fl. 1644) and so have antedated the Sultanate; he would then not be a son or brother of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil but a distant cousin and therefore of a commoner branch. An early Bugis Yamtuan of Selangor must have hastened to get a seal from Johor's representative at Klang as soon as that representative became cousin to a King. Evidently like the territorial chiefs of Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Johol, these Klang chiefs were members of the great Bendahara family of Malacca and Johor. Klang having become a Minangkabau settlement, the genealogy of its chiefs, like so many Negri Sembilan trees, not only gives the family in Minangkabau fashion a legal right to the soil by postulating Jakun ancestry but also probably postdates its connection with the Johor Bendaharas so as to give it royal descent. It runs as follows:—



The To' Engku still possesses a two-pronged lance (*Changgai Puteri*) given his ancestor by the Sultan of Johor. The tradition is that his ancestor would not acknowledge the Bugis Yamtuan until his wife had been seized by the Bugis and that To' Engku Naga Mengulor would not accept Raja Lumu as Sultan until Perak installed him.

The only other Selangor chief whose title is said to date back to the Johor empire is the Penghulu Selangor.

The pair are known as Si-Andika Sedia, "the chiefs who had authority already" before the Bugis ruled.

II.

Origin of the Selangor Sultanate.

The Selangor tradition is that Arong Pasarai, a Bugis from Goa in Celebes, was a Yamtuhan of Selangor (cf. Newbold II, pp. 29, 31). He had a daughter, Tengku Puan Berima, who married Daing Parani and is buried at Kuala Lubok in Kuala Selangor.

Arong Pasarai had a sister Raja Siti, who married Dato' Maharaja Lela Husain, son of Pakjong, ruler of Lumu in Celebes after his elder brother La Maddusalat. They had two daughters: (a) Che' Besar Halijah who married Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor and bore him Sultan Mahmud and Raja Abdu'llah, and (b) Che' Kembong who married a Batu Bahara man and bore him a son who became Dato' Maharaja Lela and was the great-grandfather of the present holder of that title.

It is said that Dato' Maharaja Lela Husain went to Perak about 1743, when Daing Chelak asked Sultan Muhammad of Perak to give *naubat* and the title of Sultan of Selangor to his son Raja Lumu, who then became Sultan Salahu'd-din.

There are various points that corroborate this tradition and are against the later date suggested on p. 7 *supra*:—

In 1742, the time of the invasion by Daing Chelak, Raja Bisnu was elevated to the Perak throne with the title Sultan Muhammad (see my *History of Perak* p. 62).

In 1742 Raja Lumu was in Perak with his father and perhaps with the heir to the Johor throne (*ib.*).

In 1745 Sultan Sulaiman, emperor of the Johor empire, complained that he had lost control of Selangor (*History of Johor* p. 58).

In 1745 Daing Kemboja was elected in Selangor to be Yamtuhan Muda of Riau (*ib.* p. 59).

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